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ABSTRACT

For this review of educational policy in New Zealand, examiners from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) were asked to consider post-secondary education and its relationship with the school system and working life. In New Zealand post-secondary education embraces much more than in most other OECD countries since it includes upper secondary education. Part 1 of the report contains the examiners' report, which is organized around four main themes: school structures, curriculum, and examinations; preparation for the transition to working life; access and resources; and educational policy-making. The examiners record that New Zealand should be content with the current performance of its education system. At the same time, they perceive a need for some changes in priorities and direction. In particular, New Zealand, like many other OECD countries, may have to strengthen and further diversify its post-school education and training provision with a view to helping young people who leave school at 15 to cope with an increasingly competitive labor market. Part 2 of the report contains a record of the Paris review meeting at which the New Zealand delegation gave comprehensive answers to the questions posed by the examiners. A summary of the background report on the educational system in New Zealand provided the examiners is given in part 3. (RM)

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NEW ZEALAND

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For this review of education policy in New Zealand the Examiners were asked to consider post-secondary education and its relationship with the school system and working life. The national authorities drew their attention to six issues of particular significance: the effectiveness of the procedures and mechanisms for educational policy-making; the effectiveness of the school curriculum in serving the learning needs of all citizens, including the non-academic; the adequacy of the provision for special groups in the population; the adequacy of vocational training programmes; the extent to which the system of post-secondary and second-chance education is open and comprehensive; the effectiveness of the arrangements for guidance and counselling.

The Examiners decided to address these issues broadly. They noted that the Department of Education defined post-secondary education as comprehending "all educational activities organized and provided at public expense for New Zealanders who have left secondary schools" and that on this definition, given a minimum leaving age of 15, *post-secondary education* embraces much more than in most other OECD countries since it includes upper secondary education or the education and training of 16-19-year-olds. The Examiners also found it necessary to take into consideration the role of the compulsory school in view of its influence on the choice of post-school destinations.

Prior to their visit to New Zealand, the Examiners had the opportunity to read a large number of documents relevant to the recent development of education in New Zealand, including a comprehensive background report specially prepared by the Department of Education. During their three weeks' itinerary they travelled extensively, visited a variety of institutions and interviewed teachers, headmasters, parents, pupils, educational administrators, local politicians and employers' and trade union representatives. In the capital, Wellington, they had meetings with senior officers of the State Services Commission, Departments of Education, Labour and Social Welfare, the Treasury and Planning Council, and with the Chairman of the University Grants Committee and representatives of the Federation of Labour, the New Zealand Employers Federation and a number of national interest groups. In addition, they heard the views of the Minister of Education, the Hon. M. Wellington, and the Shadow Minister of Education, Mr. Russell Marshall M.P.

The present volume is divided into three parts:

i) the Examiners' Report;
ii) the record of the review meeting;
iii) a summary of the background report.

The Examiners' Report is organised around four main themes: School Structures, Curriculum and Examinations; Preparation for the Transition to Working Life; Access and Resources; Educational Policy-making. The Examiners record that New Zealand should be content with the current performance of its education system, which has been spared many of the time-consuming and unproductive controversies that have beset societies elsewhere. At the same time, they perceive a need for some changes in priorities and direction. In particular, New Zealand, like many other OECD countries, may have to strengthen and further diversify its post-school education and training provision with a view to helping young people who leave school at fifteen to cope with an increasingly competitive labour market.

At the review meeting held in Paris in November 1982 the New Zealand delegation, led by the Minister of Education, gave comprehensive answers to the twenty-six questions posed by the Examiners. These answers clarify official policy towards some of the key issues raised by the Examiners as common to all OECD countries and, incidentally, reveal how rapidly educational policy responses must today adapt to changing external pressures, especially when they are of an economic order.

CONTENTS

The OECD Examiners and the New Zealand Delegation 7

Part One

THE EXAMINERS' REPORT

I. SOME IMPRESSIONS 10

II. THE SYSTEM 15
  General Observations 15
  Growth and Change 16
  Administration and Participation 18

III. VALUES 20
  Full Employment 20
  Equality of Treatment 20
  Multi-culturalism 21
  A Consensual Approach to Education 22
  Consultation and Participation 22
  Individual Freedom and Social Justice 23

IV. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL OBJECTIVES 25
  Intrinsic and Instrumental Goals 25
  Educators' Response to Changing Economic Conditions 27
  The Significance for Education of Youth Unemployment 29
  Public Expenditure: Youth and Senior Citizens 30

V. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION 33
  Pre-school Provision 33
  The Primary Stage 34
  Secondary Schools: Curriculum and Regime 37
  Change in Upper Secondary Education 41
  Secondary School Examinations 45

VI. TERTIARY EDUCATION 51
  Technical Institutes and Community Colleges 51
  The Teachers Colleges 58
  Universities 63

VII. ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION 69

VIII. EDUCATION FOR WORKING LIFE 71
  Some General Considerations 71
  Guidance and Counselling 74
  Employment and Training 76
  Apprenticeship 83
  Education for a Multi-cultural Future 86

IX. EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 89

Part Two

RECORD OF THE REVIEW MEETING

Paris, 25 November 1982

I. OPENING STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXAMINERS 96
II. OPENING STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION FOR NEW ZEALAND 98
III. SCHOOL STRUCTURES, CURRICULUM AND EXAMINATIONS 100
IV. PREPARATION FOR THE TRANSITION TO WORKING LIFE 106
V. ACCESS AND RESOURCES 110
VI. PROCEDURES AND MECHANISMS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING 116
VII. CONCLUDING STATEMENTS 122

Part Three

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN NEW ZEALAND

SUMMARY OF THE BACKGROUND REPORT, prepared by the New Zealand Department of Education 126

BIBLIOGRAPHY 136

THE OECD EXAMINERS

Professor P.H. Karmel (Chairman)	Vice Chancellor, The Australian National University, Australia
Dr. William Taylor	Director, Institute of Education, University of London, England
Mrs. Ingrid Eide	University of Oslo, Norway (formerly Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Education)

THE NEW ZEALAND DELEGATION

The Hon. M.L. Wellington	Minister of Education
Mr. W.L. Renwick	Director-General of Education
H.E. Mr. J.G. McArthur	Permanent Representative to the OECD
Dr. A.T. Johns	Chairman, University Grants Committee
Mr. J.A. Ross	Assistant Director-General of Education
Mr. M.K. Burns	Assistant Secretary, Department of Education
Ms. P.M. Caughley	Permanent Delegation to the OECD
Mr. P.J. Plummer	Private Secretary to the Minister

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Part One

THE EXAMINERS' REPORT

I

SOME IMPRESSIONS

We found substantial satisfaction among nearly all the groups with whom we spoke about the current performance of the education system. There were, of course, criticisms. But to an extent perhaps greater than in some other OECD countries, the parents, citizens, employers and workers of New Zealand appear to be reasonably well pleased with what is done for them in schools, colleges and universities. That some changes in emphasis and direction are needed is freely admitted. But existing means for decision-making and consultation are generally believed to be adequate for this purpose, and we did not get a sense of alienation from, or disenchantment about, the political and administrative channels by which such changes may be achieved. Some special interest groups wanted to see a shift of resources towards the activity that they existed to promote or defend. Disagreements on particular political or administrative issues can be sharp—for example, while we were in New Zealand the primary and intermediate teachers' association was contemplating action in support of their claim for pay parity with secondary teachers. There are those who are concerned about the alleged inadequacy of some current efforts to improve the position of ethnic minorities. But such disagreements, painful and difficult as they may seem at the time, do not appear to reflect fundamental conflicts over the aims and functions of education.

If our impression in this respect is correct, education in New Zealand is saved from many time-consuming and frequently unproductive arguments that beset societies elsewhere. At the same time, it may be deprived of the stimulus to examine fundamentals and to redefine priorities that such debate can sometimes produce. Intellectual ferment can be exciting. It generates visions of what might be and stimulates a desire for change. But it can also sharpen differences that make the implementation of such change difficult, tedious and costly. Radical critics of New Zealand society can certainly be found. Social scientists and students of the humanities in universities and elsewhere use the opportunities that a free society offers to expose what they believe to be the complexities, contradictions and hypocrisies that lie close to the surface of economic and social routines. Insofar as it is possible to generalise about the style of educational policy-making of a whole society, that of New Zealand remains consensual and incremental, guided by a combination of individualism and tolerant conformity within what has been, at least until recently, a society characterised by common values to an unusual degree. But any of the choices that a society makes from among the possibilities open to it involves costs of one kind or another. It is for the society itself to consider whether the balance of costs and benefits is optimal in relation to its political and social objectives.

A second broad impression concerned the high degree of professionalism displayed by administrators and teachers in the New Zealand system. We shall comment elsewhere in this report on the fact that the system itself is largely administered by ex-teachers. In nearly every area of central and regional policy-making and management there is a majority of men and women who have served their time in classrooms. It was impossible to remain unaware of the strong commitment of these people to the improvement of teaching and learning. We found very little cynicism or time-serving. Those who run Education in New Zealand are dedicated to use their knowledge and capacity to maintain and enhance progress. This is widely recognised by principals and teachers. There is little visible evidence of the "them and us" mentality that can on occasion characterise the relations of teachers and administrators in some other countries.

Our time in New Zealand was limited. But we saw schools and talked with educators in most parts of the country, and were struck by the substantial quality of provision that exists, with considerable efforts being made to meet the particular needs of, for example, rural youth and the multi-cultural populations of urban centres. Complete equality of provision can never be achieved. In a system that depends on the willingness of parents and the community to find resources to supplement those provided by government, schools in the better-off communities will inevitably have higher levels of equipment and provision. But equipment grants and other measures have in recent years sought to redress these imbalances where they occur. The maintenance of equity between widely scattered communities and urban areas is a matter for continuous vigilance. The commitment to this task in the Department of Education and elsewere is high. The support provided for the Correspondence School and the Correspondence Technical Institute helps to ensure that children and students in remote areas are not deprived of opportunities to study subjects that would be available to them in the town, and that a broad spread of curriculum opportunity is maintained nationwide. That teaching is a national service, with national rates of pay, helps to foster such equality.

A fourth impression had to do with the way in which schools are increasingly seen as part of a community's concern for all its members and not simply as buildings to be occupied by children of school age between the hours of 9 and 4. School libraries, pools and sports resources are used extensively in evenings, at weekends and during school holidays. Adults can be enrolled in classes for University Entrance and other awards. Whilst a "community education movement" of the kind that has received publicity in other countries is only just emerging, the reality of what is happening on the ground may not be very different from more actively publicised positions elsewhere. We would support further moves in this direction. Many of the problems that arise from the isolation of generations can be overcome if schools are open for use by all members of the community. The presence of older people, especially during day-time hours, does much to reduce the incidence of disciplinary and other "youth culture" difficulties. We were also able to observe a parallel development at a *marae* (meeting place) where the Maori community had taken over the educational responsibility for out-of-school, unemployed young people, providing them with an alternative learning environment and sense of purpose. Through an arrangement permitting a Maori teacher to share her teaching hours between school and marae, a link was also established between the two institutions. We found this initiative particularly interesting, indicating that New Zealand's multi-cultural situation produces problems but many solutions as well.

In this connection, though it is an impression of a somewhat different order from some of the others in our list, we could not help being struck by the quality of buildings and grounds in the schools and other educational institutions that we visited. They may not all be architecturally impressive, but buildings are for the most part functionally designed, well lighted, and carefully maintained. The surroundings of schools are particularly well kept. Interior appointments are by no means luxurious, and furniture is not always new, but the general standard is high, and there are consistent efforts to ensure equality of provision from one part of the country to another. The use of "relocatables" (mobile buildings) simplifies a response to changing rolls and offers the possibility of worthwhile economies. The absence of graffiti and litter, together with high standards of maintenance may not in themselves be of exceptional importance, but taken along with other observations, they are an additional indication of the general health of the education system and its standing within society.

Whilst there is in New Zealand a comparatively long cycle of education for the great majority of children, over the period from pre-school to sixteen, the balance of "primary" and "secondary" education within this cycle is somewhat unusual. Rates of post-school-certificate retention and full-time participation in tertiary education are comparatively modest by international standards. We examine these points in greater detail in later sections of this report. The relative length of the primary and secondary stages of the schooling cycle have much to do, of course, with the fact that intermediate schools, attended by some two-thirds of 11-13-year-olds, are administered under primary school regulations. The existence of these schools, together with the proportion of children who attend form 1-7 schools and area schools, tends to minimise the disjunction between primary and secondary schooling and to facilitate the transition from one stage to the other. At least in the schools that we visited, liaison arrangements between primary and secondary schools seemed to be in good order and more systematic than can sometimes be found elsewhere.

The pressure of increasing secondary retention rates has led to rising participation in tertiary education over recent years. However it seems unlikely that participation rates will increase sharply in the near future. There are those who have argued for greater concentration on "wealth producing", more practical forms of tertiary provision, that will encourage New Zealand citizens to contribute to the growth of New Zealand society, rather than to take their portable qualifications to other countries. Modest rates of full-time participation by post-school age groups in tertiary education are compensated by relatively high part-time enrolments. Nevertheless, any signs of a fall in the former rates should no doubt be a matter of concern for those who believe that, complex and tenuous as it may be, there *is* a relationship between such participation and the economic and social health of society. It is also a concern for those who regard full-time participation in tertiary education as a desirable option for young people in a world in which opportunities for the young are shrinking.

We found indications of an education system that is by and large economically run, and by no means extravagant in its demands on resources. For example, pupil/teacher ratios in schools are higher than in other OECD countries; student/staff ratios in some university faculties are remarkably adverse (e.g. 31:1 in accountancy in one university) in comparison with institutions with similar traditions elsewhere. In 1981 5.4 per cent of GDP was spent on public education. Levels of support staff, in both schools and universities, are reasonable but, again, not extravagant. We did not get the impression that there is a great deal of fat in the New Zealand education system of a kind that might be trimmed in response to economy cuts without affecting the quality of the service provided.

One of the factors that helps to prevent waste in the system is the avoidance of overlap between the functions of institutions at the same level. In some countries, the growth of diversified post-secondary education during the sixties and seventies produced a significant overlap between university and non-university institutions. This has not been the case in New Zealand. The respective roles of technical institutes, teachers' colleges and universities are clear cut, and there are few problems of role definition. We shall have occasion elsewhere in this report to draw attention to the dangers of overlap being allowed to grow as a result of diversification in the remaining teachers' colleges and in technical institutes through the development of some higher-level work, especially for the professions. However, we do not think these dangers are particularly pronounced at the present time. Indeed, we have generally been impressed by the way in which the logistics of tertiary education in New Zealand have been handled, with a substantial measure of rationalisation of faculties both within the university system and between it and other post-secondary provision.

We encountered concern about the relevance of much of the secondary curriculum to the needs of the majority of school age students, and about the structure of secondary school examinations. These are matters that require fuller consideration in a later part of the report. Similar considerations apply to the pattern of training for the world of work, and the need to increase existing provision for traditional apprenticeship training by means of "block" courses in technical institutes and elsewhere.

Within a context of much consultation and the local *management* of schools, *policy-making* and *administration* are highly centralised in the Department of Education in Wellington, for which the Minister of Education is responsible. The result is a combination of local initiative within guidelines firmly laid down by the centre.

The New Zealand authorities have highlighted in their background report the elaborate processes that exist for consultation in the formulation and implementation of policy. We found that this is more than mere rhetoric. Large numbers of people are involved in consultation, and every effort is made to ensure that committees set up to advise on particular issues are composed in such a way as to ensure the broadest possible spread of interest and commitment. It has been argued that the numbers involved conceal the triviality of some of the issues on which consultation most frequently takes place and that the costs of such consultative processes in terms of time, energy and money are becoming difficult to justify. Difficulties especially arise from single interest groups persisting in attempts to influence policy up to and beyond the point when a clear-cut decision would be beneficial for the system as a whole, and in the time, energy and resources that have to be devoted to keeping consultative machinery in good repair. A more directive, less consultative style of policy-making, administration and management might be justified if certain very high priority educational objectives attracted widespread support and were being frustrated by existing procedures. We did not get the impression that this was the case. New Zealand is a plural society, with a plurality of educational purposes and aspirations. Such pluralism is itself a value. The costs it generates are usually well worth paying. Policies are less clearcut, agreement is harder to achieve, decision-making is slower, there is more implementation slippage and results are harder to evaluate than in systems with simpler political and ideological structures and less open traditions. Whether these costs are unacceptably high is a matter for both political and administrative judgement, informed and legitimated by the kind of insider knowledge that no group of visitors can claim to possess. Nor is it likely that the equation of costs and benefits of consultative decision-making will be the same in relation to every issue.

Half the teaching force are women. Yet on several occasions it was pointed out to us that women are under-represented in the consultative process, and that few women hold influential positions linked to this process. We noted that separate events had been arranged on equality between the sexes in education, and that committees "on women" had been established, partly in response to International Women's Year activities. But however useful such separate activity may be, it is

14

not the same as full participation by women in consultation, policy formulation and decision-making.

In the chapters that follow we identify a number of problems and areas in which gains would accrue from rapid action, and others where a more extended period of debate may be most beneficial. We acknowledge the sense of anxiety about the slowness and uncertainties of policy and decision-making reflected in sections of the background report. We can offer no easy answer to a problem that besets societies such as New Zealand that are trying to make rapid adaptations to the demands of a changing world, without sacrificing the benefits of democratic freedom and participatory modes of government.

15

II

THE SYSTEM

General Observations

The education system of New Zealand has much in common with that of other developed countries with similar values and levels of gross domestic product (GDP). There is free universal provision available to all children stretching over thirteen years of primary and secondary schooling with compulsory attendance required between 6 and 15. Nearly all children start at the age of 5. At tertiary levels, there are separate university and non-university institutions, the education of teachers being the responsibility of single purpose teachers' colleges, but with considerable university involvement. There is a nationwide system of technical, vocational and continuing education, and, as is customary in democracies, substantial lay participation in school and system governance.

Education in New Zealand also has a number of distinctive features, some of them in marked contrast to other OECD countries*. Its population is small, and although the net reproduction rate has not fallen as sharply as elsewhere, is increasing only slowly, having now reached no more than 3.2 million. In recent years there has been some net emigration, particularly to Australia. The total number of people in New Zealand is not expected to pass the 4 million mark before well into the next century.

New Zealand is a multi-racial society, the dominant culture being based upon that of 19th century immigrants from the United Kingdom, rather than that proportion of the population that had much earlier arrived from Polynesia. In addition to the 9 per cent of New Zealanders who are Maoris, there is a growing number of migrants from the Pacific Islands (about 2 per cent of the population), some of whom hold New Zealand citizenship and have automatic right of entry.

Secondary education constitutes a shorter proportion of the total years of compulsory schooling than is common elsewhere. At age 10+, two-thirds of all New Zealand children move into an intermediate school, administered and staffed in accordance with primary rather than secondary standards, where they remain for only 2 years before transferring to a secondary school. Since the minimum age of leaving school is 15, a minority of children have only 3 years of secondary education. For the great majority, secondary education continues until age 16, when the School Certificate, a norm-referenced individual subject examination is taken. Over three-quarters of those who sit pass the School Certificate in at least one subject; slightly over half secure three or more passes. On the basis of performance in the Certificate, and of student and parental wishes, a proportion remain at school for a further year, at the end of which they sit a University Entrance (UE) examination, which is internally assessed but externally prescribed and moderated with an external examination for those not accredited by the school. There is also a form 7, providing a fifth year of secondary education, at the end of which suitably qualified candidates take a University Bursary or Scholarship Examination, usually prior to entering university, teachers' college, or a professional course in a technical institute. Entry to university is usually after form 7, but form 6 students with UE or equivalent may also secure direct entry.

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* See Figure 2, Part Three, page 129.

The definition of *post-secondary education* used in New Zealand is somewhat different from that employed in most other OECD countries, where the term refers to a specific educational *level* (e.g. colleges and universities) rather than a temporal *stage* in an individual's educational career. The participation rates of 15-19-year-olds in full-time education in New Zealand (44.8 per cent) are similar to those in the United Kingdom (44.6 per cent), Australia (44 per cent) and Greece (45.4 per cent), but a good deal lower than the rates typical of the United States (75 per cent), Canada (64.9 per cent), or Sweden (56.3 per cent)[1]. The proportion of 19- and 20-year-olds still receiving full-time education (14 per cent of males and 14.3 per cent of females) is also comparable to a number of other OECD countries but there are rather more part-time students in this category than is customary elsewhere (20.5 per cent of males and 12.8 per cent females). Full-time male and female participation at all ages from 3 to 20 is well balanced, although largely on account of the apprenticeship system there are rather higher percentages of part-time male students in all the post-compulsory age groups.

There are six universities, four having originally been colleges of the former federal University of New Zealand (dis-established in 1961), two having been set up in the sixties. Any school student who secures an adequate pass in the University Entrance examination has a right to a university place. Degree programmes, especially in the Arts, are broad-based rather than specialised. Three years for the ordinary degree is followed by a further year for honours. Course credits are readily transferable between institutions and over time, and only a minority of students complete their degree in the minimum time. There are substantial numbers of mature students enrolled, some without the intention of completing a degree but wishing to follow a particular course or programme for its professional or personal relevance. Fees are low, and there are generally available, but not particularly generous, schemes of tertiary support. The federal origins of the university system have encouraged rationalisation of faculties and facilities. Medicine is taught only at Auckland and Otago, Engineering at Christchurch and Wellington. Government funds for universities are distributed by the University Grants Committee, which also, through its Curriculum and Research Committees, approves new degree programmes and provides research support. There is no degree-level teaching outside the universities. Twenty one technical institutes (sometimes called polytechnics or community colleges) provide apprenticeship training, technical level programmes, alternative secondary, para-professional and personal education in varying combinations, although vocational preparation remains the dominant feature of their activity. Teacher education takes place in six self-standing teachers' colleges, although at the time of our review there were proposals that three of these might be affiliated with universities. Teachers' college students have opportunities to prepare for university degrees in the course of their training, and much of the teaching for these degrees is undertaken within the colleges themselves.

Growth and Change

In common with many other developed countries, New Zealand has experienced a very considerable growth in educational demand and provision over recent decades. Demographic trends led to a doubling of primary numbers between 1945 and 1967. A larger population, plus increasing levels of participation, produced a threefold increase in secondary numbers between 1945 and 1978. There was a trebling of tertiary provision between 1956 and 1980, and in the two decades from 1960 to 1980, the number of children for whom pre-school provision was made increased two and a half times.

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[1] *OECD Economic Surveys 1981-1982: New Zealand*, Paris, January 1982.

Between 1960 and 1979 considerable changes took place in the number of schools and institutions in each of the categories recognised in Department of Education statistics. Beginning with the youngest age groups, the number of kindergartens increased from 200 to 511. The growth in the play centre movement was even more marked, from 141 to 694. Within the primary sector, the number of full primary schools fell from 1 742 to just over 1 000, while contributory primary schools increased more than fourfold from 230 to 967. There were only 20 special schools in 1960. By 1979 there were 74. Intermediate schools substantially increased in number over this period, from 51 in 1960 to 145 twenty years later. The number of private primary schools remained stable at some 330. Whereas in 1960 there were 86 district high schools, incorporating both secondary departments and area schools covering the whole primary and secondary age range, by 1979 their number had fallen to 34 area schools and two district high schools. On the other hand, the number of State secondary schools rose during the two decades from 150 to 259. As in the case of the primary sector, the number of private secondary schools was stable at around 100. There were 7 teachers colleges in 1960, 8 in 1980, and there has been no increase in the number of universities since the early sixties. The major development at the tertiary level has been in the number of technical institutes, of which there were only 2 in 1960, 8 in 1970, and 21 by the end of the following decade.

Over the past 15 years or so there has been a marked fall in the average size of classes at State primary schools. In 1965 47.1 per cent of all classes had 35 pupils or more. By 1979 this figure had fallen to 9.9 per cent. The proportion of this total that represented classes with more than 40 pupils showed a particularly sharp fall, from 17 per cent in 1965 to 0.1 per cent fifteen years later. Whereas in 1965 the 0-34 pupil band covered 52.8 per cent of the total, by 1979 this proportion had increased to 90.2 per cent[2].

Expansion is now coming to an end. It is anticipated that primary rolls will fall by some 80 000 by 1990, and secondary numbers will begin to decline after 1985. The high cost of university provision in a time of economic retrenchment, plus the feeling that there may in the future be an excess of men and women graduates, has suggested to at least some policy advisers the need to restrain any further growth in university numbers, and even to accept some fall, but to encourage a continued expansion of technical provision at tertiary level, perhaps resulting in a doubling of the numbers of such students by the end of the century.

Real public expenditure on education increased by an average of 7 per cent per annum during the sixties and peaked in 1971/72. Since that year there was an increase in the proportion of GDP spent on education from 4.9 per cent in 1972 to 5.4 per cent in 1976, a slight fall to 4.8 per cent in 1980 and a return to 5.3 per cent in 1981. The same proportion of 5.3 per cent was estimated for 1982 but while the examiners were conducting their review in New Zealand, the government announced a 3 per cent cut in educational expenditure.

Overall, secondary retention rates have been improving steadily in New Zealand during the past 20 years, and this has been particularly marked in the case of females. In 1961 only about 8 per cent of girls remained for a fifth year of secondary education, whereas by 1980 the percentage had risen to 21. Fourth year retentions for females rose from 31 per cent in 1961 to over 60 per cent in 1980. In contrast, fifth year retention for boys rose from 18 per cent to 22 per cent in the same period, and for fourth years from 35 per cent to 52 per cent. In the aggregate, there are now nearly one million students in the schools, colleges, institutes and universities of New Zealand and some 43 000 teachers and lecturers are employed. About half of all enrolments are in primary schools. Secondary school numbers account for some 27 per cent of the total, and of the 53 000 students in universities, 22 000 are either part-time or following extra-mural and short courses. All in all, 31 per cent of the New Zealand population are attending educational institutions of one kind or another for full year courses either full-time or part-time. In addition, there were more than 120 000 enrolments in block courses.

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[2] Report of the Department of Education for the year ending 31st March, 1980, tables 4 and 5, p. 45.

Administration and Participation

Educational administration in New Zealand is centralised. The Director-General controls the work of the Head Office in Wellington and there are Regional Superintendents in charge of the Northern, Central and Southern Regional Offices. There are educational boards for primary and intermediate and some secondary schools.

The Boards are directly elected by local School Committees. Most secondary schools have their own Boards of Governors. There are ten Education Boards for primary schools, attached to each of which is a team of inspectors. There are also four inspectorial teams for secondary schools. There is a strong professional element in the administration of New Zealand's education system. The present Director-General is a former teacher. So is the present Minister of Education. A large number of the senior officers in Head Office and the Regions have extensive school experience, as do all the Inspectors and Senior Inspectors. This high level of professionalism has many advantages, which have been visible to us in our discussions with teachers and voluntary organisations. It may also reflect the person-centred values of New Zealand education, to which we will be making reference in a subsequent section. Instrumental, economic, job-oriented values feature in the administration of all education systems. That they are less prominent in New Zealand than elsewhere may have something to do with the country's long history of full employment and with the basis of recruitment of many of the country's educational administrators.

Frequent review and the making of many small adjustments have perhaps been responsible for the lack of major structural change in New Zealand's education system. In most countries, the last half century has seen several major reforms of secondary and higher education, usually in the direction of a "comprehensive" pattern of secondary provision, and towards the greater diversification of education at post-secondary level. New Zealand was early in the field with the idea of the common school. At a time when the leaving age was still 14, the six-year primary and two-year intermediate schools were non-selective institutions, which avoided the bifurcation that has been a feature of the education of adolescents in many other countries. The intermediate schools originally served both terminal and transition purposes. With the extension of secondary education to age 15 and beyond, they have become feeders to the high schools and colleges. However, the existence of large numbers of these schools (two-thirds of New Zealand children now receive some part of their education within them), coupled with the fairly sharp distinctions that still exist between primary and secondary teaching services, have, whatever their merits, stood in the way of any further major reform in the direction of a shortened primary and lengthened non-selective secondary cycle.

The principle of open access to universities has obviated the necessity to create an alternative system of degree-granting institutions, parallel to the universities. In the major development of technical institutes and community colleges, now contemplated, no major structural change has been called for. The existing regional technical colleges and technical divisions of high schools provided in most cases an adequate base for the development of separate polytechnics, technical institutes and community colleges, and these now exist in 21 different locations throughout the country. The demand for award-bearing and particularly vocational courses is likely to be met by expanding these colleges during the remaining years of the century, from approximately 19 000 equivalent full-time students at present to about 32 000 in 1990.

Thus New Zealand has not had its Martin Report (Australia) or its Robbins Report (Great Britain), nor has it been subject to the strenuous political debates that have accompanied the reorganisation of post-primary education in many OECD countries in the decades after the Second World War. The development of education in New Zealand has been evolutionary rather than revolutionary in character, reflecting to a large extent the pragmatism that is an important social and political value.

During our meetings and discussions with New Zealand educators we heard extensive references to the "education family", a usage that reflects the tradition of widespread consultation and lay participation in decision making and management. It has been estimated that over 20 000 lay persons belong to committees, boards and other bodies having formal responsibilities. With a few exceptions, such as aspects of religious instruction, the inculcation of values and sex education, the long-standing practice of consultation has produced a remarkable consensus about the objectives and processes that should characterise New Zealand education. The task of creating such consensus among a geographically scattered population has been by no means easy. Evidence that it has largely succeeded can be found in the changes that have taken place over the past two decades in attitudes towards the education of minority groups. The Maori was originally educated on segregationist, then later, on assimilationist principles. The acceptance within the past twenty years of the notion of multi-cultural society, and the need for educational provision that reflects its values, constitutes a considerable achievement, although there is a long way to go before all the different ethnic groups in New Zealand are represented at each level of society in accordance with the proportion that they constitute of the total population.

This brief description of some of the most prominent features of education in New Zealand does scant justice to its richness and complexity. The Department of Education's background report provides considerably greater detail than is possible in this brief introduction to our own findings.

III

VALUES

On the basis of our discussions with educators and representatives of government, industry and the trade unions, we have formed the impression that the provision of education in New Zealand embodies a number of more or less strongly held values about the direction that economic and social development might take. These are not universally shared, but command a high degree of adherence. We do not believe that the present state and prospects of education can be understood without reference to them. In a report of this kind it is impossible to give adequate consideration to the historical and social roots of some of these values. Nonetheless, we believe it may be useful to set out what we have perceived as the most significant values informing current practice and provision, if only to expose our own assumptions in framing our questions (see Part Two).

Full Employment

There is a strong and continuing commitment to *full employment*. Historically, when other countries have experienced unemployment, New Zealand has managed to provide jobs for nearly all its citizens. Even today, when there is considerable anxiety about declining job opportunities, both generally and for younger people and women in particular, the number of unemployed is still modest by international standards. It follows from this that there is optimism that current unemployment levels are temporary rather than permanent, caused by recession and the slowness of the economy to adapt to changes in overseas markets, rather than any fundamental structural change in the nature of employment in New Zealand or in the terms of trade. We have found a positive disinclination (widely shared in other countries) to offer anything by way of "education for unemployment". Placement schemes, job-creation efforts and other devices, which exist in New Zealand as in many other OECD countries, are seen as stop-gaps, to be removed when fuller employment returns and it becomes again possible for every student leaving secondary school and university to count on the availability of at least one, and possibly more than one, suitable vocational opening.

Equality of Treatment

There is also a strongly egalitarian emphasis—especially in political and social rhetoric. This is taken to imply uniformity of treatment with, perhaps, some compensatory provision for disadvantaged groups, especially the Maoris or Pacific Islanders. New Zealand has a *national* education system. The intention is that the quality and kind of education available to citizens will not vary sharply according to whether they live in the far North or the far South, in a rural or an urban area, in a long established or a new settlement. In the words of a group of authors associated with the Commission on the Future:

> "In ambition, New Zealand has always reflected British middle-class values. Security through material prosperity and social harmony through upward social mobility have been its favoured pursuits." (Zepke N. *et al.*, 1981, p. 9).

In practice, of course, there are some significant variations in opportunity according to socio-economic status and to the range of private resources that can be deployed in support of schools and colleges. There is resistance in New Zealand to seeing society as a hierarchy, the levels of which reflect status and prestige as determined by occupation, income and educational level. Not all these factors are closely correlated in the minds of many New Zealanders. Schools are usually zoned. In a few urban areas there are signs of some differentiation of schools, according to perceived academic success, disciplinary standards and other criteria that assume importance in the eyes of some parents and members of the community.

A number of sex-segregated schools exist, and New Zealand can thus provide useful empirical findings relevant to the renewed international debate on the relative benefits of single-sex schools for women. If women achieve better when taught separately, what are the long-term effects for employment, careers and family organisation? Similarly, we might ask about the long-term effects for boys taught in all-male environments.

Multi-culturalism

A fairly recent emphasis, but one which since the late sixties has come to assume considerable importance in the minds of New Zealanders, is that of *multi-culturalism*. There is more explicit recognition than in the past of the values and importance of Maori and Pacific Island languages and culture, an attempt both to provide for their expression through appropriate institutional forms and to relate them more closely to the life and experience of the *pakeha*[1] New Zealander. Such a commitment falls short of what the more radical exponents of alternative cultures would wish—for example, we have found little support except among a few activists for the *compulsory* teaching of Maori language to all pupils. Nonetheless, there is a real and, as far as we were able to ascertain, entirely genuine concern that the peoples of New Zealand should learn through schools and colleges to live together in peace and harmony, to respect one another's values, and to create a genuinely multi-cultural society based on a core of shared values, and yet offering adequate means for the expression of cultural diversity. Because a commitment of this kind inevitably encounters both structural and attitudinal resistances, it is sometimes advocated in terms that are strident and even threatening. This is often a stage in the development of a multi-cultural identity, and requires understanding and tolerance on the part of the members of each of the races concerned.

In the view of some of those with whom we spoke, multi-culturalism has come too late. If the commitment had developed during a period of full employment, when there were ample job opportunities for Maoris, Pacific Islanders and *pakeha* alike, there might have been a possibility that the tensions that have characterised race relations in certain other countries would have been avoided. Now, however, this is uncertain. Especially in the large urban centres of the North Island, some Maoris and Pacific Islanders are becoming alienated as a result of the lack of jobs, and turning away from the possibilities of a genuinely multi-cultural future towards activism that the dominant culture finds it difficult

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[1] A term used in New Zealand to refer to members of the population of European descent.

22

to tolerate. There is concern about the proportions of Maoris and Pacific Islanders who feature in the crime statistics, and complaints that schools and colleges have failed to help reverse this trend.

For the most part, our respondents felt that there was a good chance that by the application of appropriate social and educational policies, New Zealand might indeed escape the conflicts that have been the fate of so many multi-cultural societies elsewhere and that with patience and goodwill, there were no racial problems that could not peacefully be overcome.

It is so far a fortunate fact that the Maoris and the more recent immigrants from the Pacific tend to consider each other as "relatives" in cultural terms. The leaders of these communities, traditional as well as more activist, are very much aware of the destructive potential in inter-ethnic relations. On a voluntary basis as well as in co-operation with public authorities and institutions, great courage and imagination is shown in bridging traditional and urban living, seeking cultural revival while avoiding isolation and seclusion. The traditional Maori meeting grounds—the *maraes*—are also conceived as an educational environment, open to all. Thus courses for educators, particularly principals, are arranged in order to improve their understanding of the minority culture and living conditions and establish better communication between the Maoris, the school and the community at large.

A Consensual Approach to Education

New Zealand politics have their own flavour, and, especially at election times, are pursued with vigour. In recent years there may have been a movement away from the more consensual approach to political life that, at least from an overseas standpoint, seems to have characterised earlier decades. Yet there still appears to be truth in McLaren's (1974, p. 5) assertion that:

> "... in New Zealand neither of the principal political parties is fettered by strong ideological bonds. Both are opportunist. Party differences about education are rather of attitudes than of values, of means rather than ends."

Consensus is still valued in the world of education. Education is not seen as an activity above, or uninfluenced by politics, but as requiring to be pursued in accordance with more or less intrinsic purposes, having to do with the growth and development of individuals, rather than as an instrument for the attainment of political or social goals. This standpoint does not deny the part that education can play in helping to create a more cohesive society, or ignore the importance of so-called "wealth creating" activities, but finds its ultimate source of value in the potential of the individual person, and in the extent to which teaching and learning encourages the development and expression of personal capacity.

Consultation and Participation

To attach value to such consensus involves parallel processes that will seek to bring it about. Although education in New Zealand is centrally directed, there is, as we have already stressed, a long-standing commitment to consultation, to involving the whole community, professionals and non-professionals alike, in the processes of choice and decision-making and, more particularly, in the management of institutions at local level. Given the complexities of contemporary society—the growth of single-interest groups, the range of issues on which consultation might be possible and the sophistication of the concepts and theories in relation to which debate is conducted—such a value requires hard work and resources to sustain. A multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, tolerant and diverse society involves some loss of social cohesion. It is no longer possible to believe that all good men and women adhere to a single, comprehensible set of personal and social values, which can readily be embodied not only in educational structures and processes, but also relied upon to characterise family, neighbourhood and community life.

The importance of consultation also manifests itself through the large volume of printed materials available to the New Zealand education community. This is obviously a matter that needs to receive continuing attention, as it has in this review, since the existence of a large body of printed material does not in itself ensure its use by those for whom it is intended or guarantee the success of the consultative process. Efforts are clearly made to ensure that the style and presentation of the many reports that the Department of Education issues on a variety of educational matters are such as to appeal to teachers and the general public.

Another aspect of the value under review was an awareness of the need for a balance between instrumental purposes relating to jobs and economic success, and those relating to the development of the whole person, through the maintenance of an appropriate balance in life styles deriving benefit from both modern technology and from highly favourable natural environment. New Zealand is a largely urban society. Although considerable efforts are made through radio and television, through the work of interest groups, and in the curricula of schools, to bring home to New Zealanders their responsibilities towards their natural heritage, urbanisation is having some adverse effects that need to be even more strenuously resisted than they are at present.

If the benefits of participatory modes of governance are to be reaped, there is need for careful servicing and monitoring of the work of the various committees, working parties and national, regional and local groups that contribute to the development and implementation of policy. This inevitably places a heavy burden on department officers in Head Office, in the regions and locally. The Department of Education, in common with other government departments, has for the past few years been subject to what is known as the "sinking lid" staffing policy, which seeks to reduce establishments through the freezing and non-filling of vacancies as these occur, and by other staffing economies. Such a policy has particularly serious consequences for those departments of State which are concerned with a very wide range of services, and with the administration and management of many small units. This is particularly the case for Education. No department can be immune from policies designed to reduce overall public expenditure. It has also to be faced that an inability adequately to service some levels of administration, including many in which substantial lay participation had been the norm, could in the longer term lead to greater centralisation and significant changes in practices and procedures hitherto highly valued within the New Zealand system. In the time available to us, we have been unable to assess the potentialities for savings that arise through the reorganisation of district administration, the creation of unified organisations to co-ordinate all levels of education, and the devolution of more managerial functions to operational units, including individual schools. There are few countries where those responsible for particular levels of administration—heads of individual institutions, local officers—do not feel that their own efficiency would be enhanced, and savings would accrue, from their possessing greater autonomy and referring fewer matters "up the line". We found no more and no less of this type of feeling in New Zealand than we have encountered elsewhere.

Individual Freedom and Social Justice

Finally, we have been conscious of a long-standing New Zealand belief in the importance of *individual freedom* and *social justice*. New Zealand was one of the very first welfare societies. The provision that it is currently making at some

24

considerable cost for the welfare of older people, the variety of support schemes for minority groups, the person-centred character of its educational imperatives and the quickness of its reactions to injustice elsewhere in the world, all serve to emphasize that these early beliefs are still strongly held. New Zealand schools may not always succeed in providing curricula and regimes appropriate to all their students. They do demonstrate, however, a deep concern for individual pupil welfare, and we have been impressed by the quality and professionalism of the principals and teachers with whom we have had contact in the course of our review. Against this background it is strange, especially to non-Anglo-Saxons, that the institution of corporal punishment continues to exist, a matter to which we will have occasion to refer in a subsequent section.

IV

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

Intrinsic and Instrumental Goals

In addressing the specific issues referred to in the New Zealand background report—the effectiveness of mechanisms for educational policy-making; the school curriculum; the learning needs of citizens; adequacy of provision for special populations; vocational courses; the openness and comprehensiveness of post-secondary and second chance education, and the effectiveness of guidance and information systems—we found ourselves obliged to look at aspects of all those levels of education in New Zealand that provide a context for post-secondary provision. We do not believe that such provision can be understood and evaluated without reference to the form and content of the secondary education that is available to New Zealanders. In turn, patterns of secondary education are inexplicable without reference to the work of intermediate and primary schools. In seeking to understand the arrangements that exist in New Zealand for post-secondary education, the examiners sought to establish what the community wants from its schools, colleges and universities and other less formal educational networks. We found substantial unanimity on general principles. Education, it was suggested to us, should offer the knowledge and skills appropriate to the needs and abilities of all citizens. Pupils and students should be extended both mentally and physically. They should be helped to establish flexible but resilient patterns of motivation and aspiration, of a kind needed in the face of an unpredictable future. Boys and girls, young men and women, should enjoy their schooling, not just as a preparation for adult life, but as a worthwhile experience in its own right. They should be helped by qualified and responsible teachers and lecturers to grow in confidence and maturity, and to learn to make their contribution to the future of New Zealand society. Education should not be limited to the acquisition of cognitive abilities, but should also foster skills of hand and eye and human creativity.

In this we detected the stress to which we have already drawn attention upon individual development, and on the priority of educational, as distinct from economic and instrumental values. The Education Department in its background report (p. 5) quotes the Hon. Peter Fraser, a Minister of Education in a pre-World War II government, as having made what New Zealanders see as a classic formulation of the objectives of their education system.

> "The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he is rich or poor, whether he lives in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers."

This statement has been quoted on numerous occasions over the years in both official and academic statements about education in New Zealand—notably by the influential Commission on Education under the Chairmanship of

Sir George Currie which reported in 1962—and was reflected in the strongly individualist emphasis we found widely represented amongst the groups with whom we held discussions, and in many of the documents that we studied. Somewhat less prominent today in official statements, but still much in evidence in the practice of the schools, is a corresponding stress on intellectual development. What the Currie Commission had to say about this in 1962 would still describe the orientation of many New Zealand schools today:

> "... there cannot be much doubt that the intellectual development of each pupil to his full capacity is still the primary, even though it is not now the sole, purpose of New Zealand schools."[1]

That such an emphasis should inform policy is by no means unusual, but in many other countries, governed in accordance with a variety of political and economic philosophies, it has lately lost ground to more instrumental, social and economic purposes. At one end of the international ideological spectrum such purposes stress education for wealth-creation, the importance of skills, the priority of technical and vocational provision as against that in the humanities and the social sciences. At the other end, more is heard about the development of community values, the part that education might play but seldom plays in practice in enhancing equality, in countering the alienation and meaninglessness of an acquisitive consumption-oriented society.

In every country, some kind of balance is held between these emphases. The main political parties in OECD countries, in or out of power, are concerned with such issues as education and economic growth; improving multi-cultural harmony; education and training to reduce unemployment, or at least to ameliorate its worst individual and social effects; providing for the handicapped and those with special educational needs; expanding educational opportunity at all levels from pre-school to post-graduate, and adopting measures to raise the quality of teaching and learning.

These are all concerns which New Zealand shares with the rest of the developed world. The particular emphasis among them that politicians and administrators in New Zealand have chosen can only be understood in the context of the country's recent development and present economic, social and political conditions.

Institutions and practices reflect the influence of independently minded immigrants from the British Isles, impatient of 19th century class distinctions, eager to stress the openness of a society in which reward and desert were associated with effort rather than accidents of birth. Through education, individuals might find their own way to the positions in society in which they could be fulfilled and make suitable contributions to the welfare and prosperity of their fellows. Centralised administration, and a high level of curriculum prescription were not the instrument of a hegemonic state, but means whereby equality of provision and of opportunity throughout the land could be assured.

To a greater extent than in several other countries at similar levels of development, it is such social and cultural rather than economic and instrumental values that predominate in the thinking that underlies the formation of educational process and practice in New Zealand. Despite the reality of centralised administration, and the existence of rather more prescriptions and guidelines than are commonly found in some comparable systems, the approach to educational provision remains child-centred. At the same time, the schools, through the curriculum, methods of teaching and examination, reflect other values which have been, and to a considerable extent still are, seen as fundamental to the establishment of political and social consensus, the avoidance of political extremes, and a tolerance of individual rights coupled with a strong but unspoken stress upon cultural conformity. In the context of the priority that New Zealanders attach to second chance education and to opportunities for people over their whole life span, what we have designated as "child-centred" should be perhaps amended as being concerned with the development of the whole person.

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[1] Commission on Education in New Zealand, *1962 Report*, p. 21.

Educators' Response to Changing Economic Conditions

Some of the conditions that provided the context for the development of New Zealand education in its present form no longer exist or are currently in process of rapid change. Until quite recently, New Zealand's principal connections with the outside world in terms of trade, commerce, culture and sentiment were with Britain. Today they are to an increasing extent bound up with the fate of other Pacific nations. Such multi-culturalism must now take into account the needs of many thousands of more recent Polynesian immigrants, some holding full status as New Zealand citizens, who have come to live and work principally in the major urban centres of the North Island, and smaller numbers of new migrants from other parts of Europe and Asia. With the development of global politics, New Zealand is no longer immune on its own soil from conflicts of a kind that produce political polarisation and violence abroad. For a hundred years, New Zealanders, *pakeha* and Maoris alike, have gone overseas to make their contributions to science and to learning; to warfare in opposition to fascism and to other forms of totalitarianism; to teach and to learn; to practice their professions; and to obtain knowledge and experience of the world beyond the seas. With the advent of the jet aircraft, satellite communications and micro-circuitry, and the possibility of being involved in any nuclear conflict that might arise, New Zealand's relative isolation from many forms of external influence has been eroded to the point of disappearance. It follows that New Zealand's place in the world has altered, and is continuing to alter, in ways that may well have implications for the most appropriate kind of education to be provided for its citizens.

Economically New Zealand, like nearly all OECD countries, is at present experiencing slow growth. The "oil shocks" of 1973 and 1979 produced a sharp shift in the terms of trade. A high rate of inflation is coupled with a substantial deficit in the balance of payments. Unemployment, virtually non-existent for decades, has begun to emerge, particularly among the young, although it is still low in relation to other OECD countries. Some important progress has been achieved. Considerable efforts have been and are being made to diversify exports, both in terms of products and markets. New energy sources have been identified and are being developed. In the face of higher energy costs and increased foreign competition, this has not as yet been sufficient to enable the underlying structural weaknesses to be remedied. Many of those with whom we spoke about educational policy recognise the part that schooling and training can play in speeding up or inhibiting economic adjustment and in ameliorating the socially disruptive effects of economic fluctuation. Yet we did not sense quite the same urgency in these matters as characterises discussions about educational issues in some other Western advanced industrialised societies. However, we understand that since our visit a government task force has been set up primarily to tackle the youth unemployment problem.

In many respects, of course, schools do seek to imbue their students with values, dispositions and attitudes consistent with the requirements of occupations and trades, not only through the formal curriculum but also by socialisation into habits of conscientiousness, accuracy, time-keeping, respect for authority and through processes of screening and credentialling. At the same time, many practitioners resist discussions of their work in what they call "money terms"

Suggestions that the New Zealand economy might benefit from the introduction into its education system of a stronger element of competition, of criteria for the distribution of resources calculated to raise economic growth or of an attempt to discriminate in favour of those individuals and groups most likely to contribute to economic wellbeing, are seen by some people as antagonistic to the core values of educational provision in New Zealand.

To suggest that closer links be forged between education and economic planning, so as to enable the contribution that schools, colleges and universities make to social and economic development to be widely discussed and made more explicit, is in New Zealand seen as representing a particular political viewpoint rather than a perspective on educational policy that deserves due consideration by all sections of the population. This is not a new stance. Twenty years ago, the Currie Commission devoted only 1½ pages of the 886 pages of its Report on the relations of education to the economic system, and this mainly in the form of a quotation and paraphrase from evidence given to it by Professor Frank Holmes, then Professor of Economics at Victoria University and now Chairman of the New Zealand Planning Council[2]. The conditions that made it possible to examine education without much reference to economic considerations were those of full employment and the prospect of greater material prosperity. What today directs attention towards the importance of such economic considerations is the effect of unemployment and the possible social turbulence with which it is perceived to be associated.

During the seventies independent working groups and official bodies, such as the Commission on the Future, published projections of the economic and social future of New Zealand that included the possibility of a shorter working life and enhanced leisure for the majority of people, which reflected to some extent both the romanticism and the idealism of conservationist and libertarian movements. But the collective and individual realities of economic down-turn and enforced unemployment, within the context of political and social arrangements that bear little relation to those which reformers saw as necessary for a smooth transition to new patterns of working life, have proved difficult to cope with.

There are in many countries today those who would argue for a more competitive educational environment, which places greater reliance on individual and family finance rather than state-supported provision. They would want to give greater priority to economically productive subjects and activities, if necessary at the temporary expense of the arts and humanities. They would argue that by combating the underlying structural weaknesses of the economy, individual and social wealth would be generated that, in due course, would make available additional resources in support of all kinds of education, including those highly valued in terms of person-centred ideologies. From this point of view, to ignore economic realities, to fail to come to terms with a continuing trade deficit, to let public expenditure go unchecked, will erode the basis for the quality of education to which citizens have become accustomed, and undermine the consensual understandings on which social peace and harmony are founded. In Great Britain and Australia, for example, countries with which New Zealand has a great deal in common as far as its institutions and education system are concerned, such views today predominate. Within a somewhat different tradition, the same is probably true in the United States.

Let us, for a moment, assume that there may be some justice in the criticism that education systems in many countries have failed to establish patterns of motivation consistent with the objectives of economic growth and able to meet the manpower needs. What action might now be taken that remedies these weaknesses but also that respects, rather than threatens, the long-standing emphasis upon the intrinsic value of educational experience? There is no lack of analyses which suggest all would be well if the authorities were to introduce a much larger element of vocational training at the earliest possible stage of secondary education, to make occupational preparation highly skill-specific, to discriminate sharply against the humanities and social sciences in universities, to reinstate selection according to strict criteria of ability, to focus curricular specifications more closely on the so-called basics, to provide on the basis of "the user pays" rather than on that of community support by fiscal means. Such ideas form the familiar rhetoric of contemporary criticism. It is equally possible to show that these proposals are unlikely to correct what are fundamental contradictions in the economic and social fabric. Moreover, many have serious side effects and latent consequences of a kind that, if seen clearly enough, would be recognised as highly undesirable.

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[2] Commission on Education in New Zealand, *1962 Report*, pp. 25-26.

Yet to duck the issues altogether, to claim that those who see education in strongly instrumental terms are merely misguided or philistine, offers no defence against proposals to reduce expenditure on education in line with falling rolls, against a desire to pass on a larger share of the costs of education to those who allegedly benefit most from it, against tendencies to limit participation in non-vocational tertiary education to the narrow band of those who establish the highest claims in conventional examinations, or who are willing to pay for what they receive. All this is part of the context of debate about ends and means within which educational policy must be formulated and implemented.

The Significance for Education of Youth Unemployment

It is possible that present levels of unemployment are no temporary phenomenon, a product of the world recession or the consequence of the oil shock, but a more or less permanent feature of capitalist economies, characteristic of a world in which the productive contribution from the least skilled strata of the population will never be high enough to justify their employment at what are socially acceptable wage rates, and in which a much diminished number of niches will be found for the least well qualified in the service trades, in agriculture and elsewhere. In comparative terms, unemployment in New Zealand is still low. Youth unemployment, as is general elsewhere, tends to be higher than the national average for all age groups but is still below that of many other countries with which New Zealand's economy and society may be compared. Of all those unemployed early in 1982, 37 per cent were under 20 and no fewer than 62 per cent under 25, with females considerably outnumbering males among the youngest age group. The year 1981 saw some improvement in the overall job situation, with an increase in the number of new apprenticeships and the reintroduction of the First Job Programme, although the numbers of long-term (more than 26 weeks) unemployed continued to rise.

To place the problem in such an international perspective in no way diminishes its gravity for those without work, and for New Zealand as a whole. Societies that cannot guarantee employment for their citizens most the time (as few market-based economies, without direction of labour, are today able to do) face problems not simply of economics but of social cohesion. Many of the moral imperatives on which individual character and behaviour have been built and around which organisations are structured and operate are consistent with the values of the workplace—conscientiousness, effort, punctuality, respect for authority, co-operation, accuracy, responsibility—and feature prominently in the "social learning" that goes on in schools. Such values, of course, are not merely

30

those of the workplace. They show up in every area of social life. Yet without the constraints and the opportunities offered by educational institutions and by employment, they become more difficult to inculcate in individual and organisational behaviour. Why should the jobless teenager bother to get up before noon? Why bother to be accurate and careful in personal behaviour when society seems so careless in its treatment of human resources? That there may be glaring logical errors in such reasoning does not diminish the likelihood of its occurring, or reduce its effects. When employment no longer legitimates core life values, some other basis must be found. In this respect, the multi-cultural character of New Zealand's society may be a positive asset. In its stress upon the extended family, collective responsibility, and other values hitherto inconsistent with an individualistic, capitalist economy, Maori and Polynesian cultural styles may have much to offer.

In all societies, even if *unemployment* is high, there is still a great deal of *work* to be done. The practice of individual crafts, the care of the young, the elderly, the handicapped and the sick, the maintenance of houses and gardens, the provision and improvement of public facilities, continued education for self-improvement and the greater enjoyment of nature and the arts, all offer the expansion of educational possibilities for a meaningful life. The contribution of such activities to the production of value is frequently overlooked or taken for granted. No educational policy that fails to balance, on the one hand, the "hard" economic realities, the need for training and skill and for a greater emphasis on wealth-producing activities and, on the other, the equally important case for helping those who suffer from changes in the economy to find meaning in their lives and to overcome the alienation and loss of morale that might otherwise be their fate, is likely to be successful in the closing years of the twentieth century, or to provide a sound base for adult life during the twenty-first.

Public Expenditure: Youth and Senior Citizens

In nearly all OECD countries education constitutes one of the most important charges on public expenditure. In New Zealand in 1979 central government expenditure, including funds made available to local authorities and transfers and subsidies, constituted 43 per cent of the gross domestic product. Current expenditure on education was, in 1981, 5.3 per cent of GDP and capital expenditure 0.8 per cent. These percentages had increased sharply in the preceding quarter century, having averaged in the 1950s only 2.1 and 0.6 of GDP respectively. During this period the numbers of young people were rising relative to the total population, and these was at the same time a commitment to the expansion of educational provision, to meet individual and social aspirations and to contribute to economic growth. In New Zealand as elsewhere the reversal of demographic trends, coupled to doubts about the relations between global educational expansion and economic benefit, plus anxieties about the extent to which educational expenditure does in fact serve the interests of greater equity have combined to restrict the continued growth of spending on schools, colleges and universities. At the same time, the price of past demographic increase is having to be paid in the form of increasing demands on health services and rising social security commitments. Falling rolls, if existing staff/student ratios are maintained, will reduce teacher demand by 3 000 primary and 750 secondary positions in the course of the next few years, offering a potential saving of some NZ$63 million, which, given that staffing costs are some 90 per cent of total operating costs, is some 4 per cent of the total education budget. Priority is at present being attached to reductions in government expenditure, from which it is argued education cannot be spared. Nevertheless, to take full advantage of the potential savings from falling rolls could result in a substantial decline in the quality of educational provision.

The OECD 1982 *Economic Survey* for New Zealand has this to say about the prospects for education expenditure in the 1980s:

> "... there was little increase in real expenditure per (weighted) student during the 1970s and teacher/pupil ratios in primary and secondary schools, which had fallen significantly during the 1960s, showed a much less marked improvement during the 1970s. The prospects for the 1980s suggest that in the absence of any further quality improvements or of major new developments, real expenditure on education might decline between 5 and 6 per cent during the course of the 1980s, the reductions becoming apparent particularly in the second half of the decade." (pp. 47-48).

We understand that this reduction is *net* of possible developments in tertiary education such as the projected increase in the number of students attending technical institutes and/or undergoing various forms of vocational or vocationally related training. But it does not include the kinds of "volume cuts" such as the reduction in expenditure of 3 per cent which the government announced during the course of our examination. Overall, it seems that there may be substantial falls in the real resources available to education during the 1980s, at the same time as the demands on the economy made by the increasing number of older people will be increasing.

New Zealand has chosen to institute a non-contributory system of National Superannuation which provides a high base-line of income protection for those over the age of 60, but which is taking an increasing proportion of public expenditure. In its 1979 report *The Welfare State: Social Policy in the 1980s*, the New Zealand Planning Council stated:

> "... the Council is firmly of the view that some reduction in the total being paid out under National Superannuation is an essential element in any strategy to contain the growth of public expenditure, while effectively meeting areas of real welfare need." (p. 84).

Given existing demographic trends, a continued transfer of resources from the young to the old seems inevitable. It is not within our remit to review or comment upon the overall pattern of New Zealand's expenditure. Nonetheless, we must draw attention to the implications that National Superannuation and a declining level of expenditure on education have for the role of public expenditure as an instrument of social investment. Whilst the direct connections between educational expenditure and productivity, economic growth and the encouragement of wealth-producing activities are obscure, they almost certainly exist: a highly qualified and skilled workforce is certainly a *necessary*, if not a *sufficient*, condition for economic growth.

No one would wish to see the benefits payable to the retired older citizens reduced below a level consistent with maintenance of a decent standard of life. But insofar as existing policies on National Superannuation absorb an increasing proportion of public expenditure, opportunities for the young are diminished and the possibility of a more substantial investment in wealth-enhancing forms of public expenditure is reduced. In these respects, policies for education cannot be looked at separately from public expenditure plans as a whole or the overall range of welfare support and transfer payments with which, in expenditure terms, they must compete. Having observed what is said in the 1982 OECD Economic Survey of New Zealand about the rate at which educational expenditure may decline and taking into account the desire to reduce unemployment, to increase productivity and to encourage entrepreneurship, the examiners have some anxieties about the direction of public expenditure trends over the next decade. In our belief it would be a mistake for the diminishing number of young people to be used as a reason for reducing public investment in education. We make this point, not because of any narrow commitment to education as against any other form of public investment, or because we seek to support the case of any single-interest group in New Zealand society, but because of what we regard as a potentially serious shift from what are production to consumption-oriented forms of public expenditure. No real evaluation of the relative costs and benefits of the transfer of resources from younger age groups to older appears to have been undertaken. Yet it can be argued that, unless New Zealand pays more attention to the development of its training capacity, and to the qualitative improvement of education provision, the growth necessary to support existing social welfare commitments may not take place, especially if the state of the world economy is such as to preclude the improvement in the terms of trade on which current forecasts appear to be predicted.

V

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Pre-school Provision

There are some 56 000 children under compulsory school age enrolled in kindergartens or play centres. It is estimated that nearly half of all 3-4-year-olds are in some form of part-time attendance, as are 90 per cent of 4-year-olds. By international standards, these proportions are high, especially in relation to compulsory attendance which may begin as soon as a child reaches the age of 5. It must be emphasized that these are *part-time* attendances. Kindergarten children attend either morning of afternoon sessions; the number in *full-time* attendance are much smaller. The Advisory Council on Educational Planning[1] recommended that early childhood education be made "readily available to all" a proposal echoed in the government's 1975 election statement that all parents should have the opportunity to opt for early childhood education for their children, and that measures would be adopted to help achieve that aim.

A substantial element of the existing provision is voluntarily organised. Play group organisers must raise funds in order to support their activities or charge fees at an "economic" level, which discourages some of those who can most benefit from child-care facilities from taking part. Many of the staff responsible for children in this age group are untrained, although the Play Centre movement has made considerable efforts to train its voluntary helpers.

We noted that a full review of kindergarten staffing was undertaken in the year ending 31 March 1981, which provides for a greater use of part-time teachers, and that a State Services Commission working group also produced a report on child care in March 1981. By that date there were 526 kindergartens in operation, together with 690 play centres, the buildings for many of which having been provided under the 4:1 subsidy scheme operated by the Department in co-operation with the Play Centre Federation.

Given that a larger proportion of the female work force is now married, there is clearly a need for maintaining and improving the level of child-care provision. Many parents place their children with relatives or with child-minders. The educational content of such day care is, to say the least, problematical. Not enough appears to be known about the conditions under which children are looked after on an informal basis, and in the light of the findings of reports on these issues elsewhere, further research would seem to be required. We would not wish to detract from the value of voluntary effort at the pre-school stage. The encouragement of such effort is an important element in the transition from what the Secretary-General of the OECD has called the "welfare state" to the "welfare society"

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[1] The Advisory Council on Educational Planning, *Directions for Educational Development*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1974.

It is clear that few societies are at present able to maintain economic growth rates commensurate with the levels of welfare provision that many of their citizens have come to expect. The prevailing economic doctrine is that inflation is fuelled by large-scale public expenditure, which needs to be checked if demand and supply are to be brought into a more or less stable equilibrium. A lower overall tax burden brought about by greater voluntary and family effort is seen by some as likely to improve personal incentives and productivity and encourage communities and individuals to offer direct support for kinds of welfare provision at present the responsibility of central government. Early childhood is a sector where community involvement and voluntary effort play a critical part in ensuring success. There is always the risk that, when reliance is placed upon the volunteer, standards will vary, and that what some children experience will be unsatisfactory. But there are larger issues. New Zealand now faces the double problem of demographic imbalance—the population is ageing—and the need to restructure its economy and increase productivity. Households as well as the national economy will demand that mothers even of very young children, gain an income from their work. While increasing the demand for pre-school provision, this will decrease the amount of time available for unpaid work by mothers at play centres and play groups. Unless this dilemma finds new solutions, one likely outcome is a continued demographic decline: to avoid incompatible role obligations and excessive demands on their time and energy, child-bearing will be postponed and reduced by a significant number of women[2].

There has been a marked increase over the past two decades in the proportion of Maori children attending kindergartens or play centres. Even when allowance is made for differential birth rates, and the difficulties of classifying Maori and non-Maori populations are taken into account, it appears that the increase is a real one, and that Maori participation has been an important factor in the growth of this level of educational provision. For example, between 1965 and 1973, the percentage increase of Maoris attending kindergartens was 319, against 40 for non-Maoris. In play centres these trends were reversed showing a 89 per cent increase for Maoris and a 163 per cent increase for non-Maoris. Given that play centres only provide for a limited number of sessions per week for any one child, kindergartens are likely to be preferred by mothers who wish to place their children whilst in full- or part-time employment, and thus these percentages no doubt also reflect the increasing Maori female participation in the work force (Barney, 1975, p. 188).

The Primary Stage

In many countries, a child's primary education begins at the start of the term or school year in which he or she reaches the age of compulsory education. In New Zealand, it begins in practice on the day that the age of 5 is achieved. Nearly all children are enrolled within three weeks of their fifth birthday. There is thus a continuous trickle of new entrants to infant classrooms; the familiar "reception class" does not exist. We enquired as to the effects of this pattern of entry, and found that most of the teachers and educational authorities with whom we spoke favoured its continuation. It was emphasized that an individual date of entry encourages individual treatment. Furthermore, there are always children of a similar age who have already been in school for some weeks or months and who can help to induct the newcomer. For many purposes, five-year-olds cannot be taught as a homogeneous group and date-of-birth entry makes this obvious.

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[2] This issue is discussed in a paper by Geraldine McDonald: "The Provision of Early Childhood Services in Relation to the Changing Role of Women", NZCER (undated, probably 1978).

The complete primary school cycle is from 5 until 13. The effect of a cut-off point at a higher age than is customary in some other countries, coupled with a limit of 15 on compulsory full-time education, results in a somewhat truncated secondary education for that diminishing proportion of children who do not voluntarily remain beyond the statutory leaving age and a relatively short secondary education even for those who elect to leave a year later. The eight-year programme of primary education also means that a very high proportion of all those enrolled in educational institutions in New Zealand are primary students—490 000 out of a total of 950 000 in 1981. Most New Zealand children spend the first six years of their primary education in what are known as "contributing schools", and then go on for two years to intermediate schools, which are part of the primary system but physically distinct from other primary schools. A minority of children attend "full primary schools" providing for years 1 to 8. Some pupils in the rural areas are enrolled in "area schools" which provide for the full range from infants through primary to upper secondary and others still enter form 1-7 secondary schools in rural areas. Some children in very remote places are registered in the Correspondence School, which also provides for the full range of age groups, and a small minority are students in private schools, some outside the state system but most in process of integration in accordance with the terms of the Integration Act of 1975.

This variety of patterns can be understood in the context of New Zealand geography as well as history. The population is scattered, communications difficult, education as well as the welfare of children of paramount importance. New Zealand has sought solutions that made its system of education compatible with those facts and priorities. In a country like Norway, in many ways similar to New Zealand, a similar pattern of education has developed.

Within primary schools, pupils are usually organised in class groups, which are as a rule unstreamed. There is evidence of some team teaching, especially in the more recently built schools with an open plan design. Streaming by abilities seems to have been almost entirely abandoned. The Inspectors' Report on standards[3] cited evidence that only one out of 126 intermediate schools surveyed in 1976 was fully streamed, half were partly streamed and the rest had classes of mixed ability. The abandonment of streaming appears to have been particularly beneficial to the social integration of minorities who in streamed schools tended to find themselves consigned to the lower-ability groups. In the time at our disposal we were unable to explore in any depth the way in which unstreamed classes are taught and the extent to which ability grouping is employed in subjects such as mathematics and reading. There is evidence from abroad that the effective teaching of unstreamed classes imposes greater demands upon teachers than when the children in their charge are of approximately homogeneous ability. In particular, it may encourage efforts to create groups smaller than the class, and to individualise instruction, that to be effective require high-level training and considerable time for the preparation of teaching materials and the provision of individual guidance. Whilst, therefore, unstreaming does have clear social and many actual or potential educational advantages, it also makes demands on teachers that must be met by improved levels of initial and in-service training, and where possible by an improvement in pupil/teacher ratios in order to provide time for diagnosis, preparation and assessment.

Pupil/teacher ratios in New Zealand seem rather high in comparison with those of some other countries at a similar level of development. Although there is no unimpeachable evidence that reductions in class size within the range of what is customarily possible (e.g. from, say, 33 to 31) produce corresponding educational gains, selective improvement in pupil/teacher ratios (as distinct from class size) might enable more teacher time to be freed for the purpose of remedial reading programmes, individual assessment and treatment of children with special needs, and for more attention to the particular requirements of minority groups.

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[3] Department of Education, *Educational Standards in State Schools*, Wellington, 1978.

We stress these points because we believe that remediation for such problems during or at the end of the secondary cycle is too late, especially in a system where secondary education proper does not begin until the age of 13. It is in the primary and intermediate schools that the work must be done if it is to be successful. Some increase in resources in primary schools may be warranted, but these should be directed selectively rather than spread thinly in the form of across-the-board improvements in class sizes or reduced teaching hours.

Primary teachers in New Zealand have hitherto been trained under separate regulations and paid on separate scales from their secondary counterparts. The cost of restructuring salaries so as to put primary teachers on an equal footing with those in secondary schools would be very high—estimated as some $36 million in March 1982. Acknowledging this discrepancy, we believe that in the longer run, primary teachers should be selected from the same ability cohorts as those who will work in secondary school and that a wholly graduate entry to teaching is desirable. Furthermore, the presence within intermediate schools of some teachers classified as primary and others as secondary introduces awkward salary and status anomalies, such as a woodwork teacher (secondary classified) being paid more than his intermediate school deputy head (primary classified). The correction of such anomalies may require constraint in fixing salaries.

Surveys of primary teaching show that the Department of Education's curriculum prescriptions are closely adhered to in most schools, although teachers do have some freedom in preparing their own schemes based upon the Department's syllabus. The Inspectors found in 1978[4] that teachers were tending to devote more time to the teaching of reading and oral language than in the past, and in their sample schools, these two areas of work received an average of 7-7½ hours attention in a typical weekly timetable. If we are right in believing that what happens at the primary stage of education is critical for later success, then the attention given to children with special learning needs and to minority groups in the primary schools is of great importance..

In New Zealand, as in most societies, the primary level is the least controversial stage of education. Teachers and parents generally concur on aims and objectives, children are well motivated, their development, at least in the earlier years, is as yet unaffected by adolescent trauma, there are no formal examinations to arouse anxiety and to influence the distribution of status, and primary teachers are for the most part well trained and experienced in the methods and approaches best suited to the needs of young children. In all this, New Zealand seems little different from many other countries. The principal difference lies in the length of the primary cycle, and in the choice of cut-off points for the majority of children who transfer to intermediate schools before beginning their secondary education. We are aware that the role of intermediate schools has been examined several times since they were established sixty years ago and that the balance of opinion has always been in favour of their continuation. We have also heard the opinion expressed that if New Zealand were starting to plan its education system *ab initio* it would not today create such schools. We recognise that this is not a good time for a major structural reform, especially one with problematic educational and social advantages. Nonetheless, the long primary cycle does tend to preclude certain developments, such as the grouping of older adolescents into some form of tertiary college, that might on other grounds be considered as a possibility. A secondary education that begins as late as 13 does not lend itself to structural reorganisation at its upper end.

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[4] *Educational Standards in State Schools*, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Secondary Schools: Curriculum and Regime

Secondary education in New Zealand begins at the age of 13, when pupils transfer from their intermediate or primary schools, or from the second form of the rural "Form 1-7 Schools", or from the eighth year of their work in all-through Contributing Schools, the Correspondence School, or private schools. The full secondary school cycle lasts five years, up to the age of 17. There are public examinations at the end of the 11th, 12th, and 13th years of schooling. Only one student in five completes the full secondary cycle. The majority leave after the School Certificate Examination at around 16. Thus for the majority of the New Zealand population, secondary education is a good deal shorter in duration than in most other OECD countries. We noticed a tendency to refer to the secondary stage as "post-primary education", and indeed, the association of teachers working in these schools is called the "Post-Primary Teachers Association" (PPTA). In recent years New Zealand secondary schools have been the subject of a major report[5] and were in 1975 appraised in a "base-line survey" which produced a great deal of factual information about the day-to-day work of the 288 state secondary schools that existed at that time. Two-thirds of secondary schools are in the North Island. The average number of students attending a secondary school in 1976 was 702, 27 of whom would be Maoris, 12 Pacific Islanders, 5 Asians and 3 from other minority ethnic groups. The distribution of minority groups between schools is, however, very uneven. Maori pupils constituted the majority of students in 13 secondary schools and in 8 of them, made up over 80 per cent of the roll. We were frequently reminded by Maori representatives that it was in secondary schools that some Maori students were (to use a phrase now much heard in Western Societies) "failed by the system". Acute awareness of this problem needs to lead to relevant solutions based on interaction and co-operation between schools, community and employment projects.

New Zealand secondary school pupils follow a broad curriculum. Breadth is ensured by the Departmental requirement for a "core curriculum" which applies to all students in forms 3 to 5, and provides for every student being given instruction in English language and literature, social studies, general science, elementary mathematics, music, a craft or one of the fine arts and physical education. The amount of time to be devoted to each subject in the core curriculum is included within the regulations, and totals about half of a normal timetable. School Certificate forms take an average of four to six examination subjects, each receiving about 4 to 4½ hours allocated time per week. There is considerable choice of subjects for 7th form work, and most students specialise in fields that they will later continue in tertiary education. The core curriculum has changed little over the past 35 years. In the words of the 1975 survey "the school curriculum in 1975 was the same as that gazetted in 1945". This fact, however, disguises changes in the optional subjects, and the substantial process of curriculum revision, both of core and "full subject" courses, that has been proceeding over the past 20 years. In English, mathematics, science, social studies, music, art, physical education and health, home economics and crafts, revised syllabuses and prescriptions have been issued at various times during the post-war period, although not with any frequency. The relative slowness of change in some syllabuses is due in part to the fact that any modifications must apply nationally and that before implementation, they must pass through an extensive and complicated process of consultation, consistent with the concept of the "education family"to which reference has already been made in this report. In the words of the Director-General:

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[5] Department of Education, *Towards Partnership: Report of the Committee on Secondary Education*, Wellington, 1976.

> "... the processes of curriculum development, as carried out in this country, are endlessly consultative. The syllabuses which, at the end of the process, will be approved by the Minister for national adoption, have, through discussion and evaluation, to be legitimated in the minds of the teachers who will use them and the parents whose children will study them. It is the Department's responsibility to ensure that these processes of consultation and evaluation are carried out effectively. And it is their professional obligation—one which I can assure you that my colleagues take with the utmost seriousness—to ensure that the views of all New Zealanders who wish to be heard on a given subject are taken fully into account when proposals for the decision of the Minister of Education are under consideration" (Renwick, 1980b).

The syllabuses and "prescriptions" for New Zealand schools are determined centrally by committees on which the teaching profession and departmental officers are represented. The process of major syllabus revision can be extremely lengthy and the gap between proposals for such revisions and their implementation is sometimes rather long. Thoroughness requires time. Given limited resources, not all the syllabuses in use can be under simultaneous revision. As a result, some of those we have seen have a somewhat dated appearance. We would not wish to suggest that the degree of participation involved in major syllabus revision should be reduced, and we concur that the whole process performs a valuable in-service function. Furthermore, we are given to understand that schools are not only free to undertake and seek approval for their own revisions of the printed prescriptions, but that many do so. Nonetheless, the continued circulation and use of syllabuses that are more than two decades old and have not been substantially revised in the light of new thinking about the content and forms of assessment appropriate to the subjects concerned, may inhibit a rapid response to significant social, economic and educational change and the emergence of new knowledge.

The consultative model on which such a process is built embodies certain assumptions about the behaviour of individuals and groups. In particular, it assumes that when everyone has had their say, when the possibilities of compromise and trade-off have been exhausted, and a majority has emerged for one way of proceeding rather than another, those who find themselves in a minority will accept the decision that has been made and subordinate their own interests to those of the whole community. From about the end of the 1960s, this model of the democratic process has come increasingly under challenge. Its critics argue that not all who are consulted have an equal voice. Those who happen to possess power or can exert external pressure receive more attention and respect. It is suggested that the consensus model of decision-making also implies the existence of a homogeneous community with a single set of interests to which all subsidiary concerns can ultimately be subordinated. In the views of some people, all this is no longer valid. Undertaking the necessary processes of consultation is inevitably lengthy and has led some to argue that the costs in time are too great, acting as a brake on desirable processes of change. In this connection it may be noted that departmental curriculum officers, who have the chief responsibility for identifying the need for and engineering change, spend nearly half their time working with teachers, inspectors and advisers in the field, and over 40 per cent providing briefings and information for the Minister, the Department, professional associations, pressure groups and individuals. Only 8 per cent of their time is spent on development work relating to proposed new syllabuses or prescriptions (Renwick, 1980b, p. 12).

Many of the political and departmental statements and documents with which we have been supplied emphasize the importance of a revision of secondary curriculum that will give more scope for the boy or girl whose interests are not primarily intellectual and who is not likely to pursue a post-secondary course requiring university entrance standards. Action being taken on these proposals includes the establishment of a national revision committee to review current practices in workshop craft programmes and to develop new form 1-7 syllabuses, the setting up of a national home economics revision committee, the updating of existing secondary school syllabuses and prescriptions in agricultural subjects from forms 3-4, a computing option within the applied mathematic syllabus at form 7 level, and a computer study course for 6th-formers. About half of all secondary schools have micro-computer systems, generally without substantial peripherals but with add-on capacity.

The work being done in these areas is to be welcomed, and, when seen alongside the new options and electives that individual schools have introduced in the non-core area of their programmes for senior students, including a variety of work exploration and job search activities, minority languages, outdoor education and courses relating to personal and social development, it is clear that a significant response is being made to the criticism that secondary programmes are unduly academic and fail to meet the needs of the majority secondary students. We wonder, however, whether this is enough. The motivation of adolescents to respond to a particular curriculum content and to strive for worthwhile achievements can have as much to do with the organisation and ethos of schools as with the particular content of a given syllabus or programme. New Zealand secondary schools appear to us to be traditional in respects other than curriculum content and organisation. We notice that school uniform is almost universal, even into the upper forms. We understand that corporal punishment is still used, the 1975 base-line survey finding in one school that there have been no fewer than 549 canings in a single two-term period. Only 40 out of 288 schools did not use corporal punishment, and 25 of these were single-sex girls' schools. It is not, however, encouraged. McLaren (1974) refers to the fact that as long ago as 1969 a group of citizens petitioned for the banning of corporal punishment at certain levels of education, which was referred to a parliamentary Select Committee on Education. In evidence to the Committee the Department of Education "made it clear that officially the retention of corporal punishment in schools was not favoured and its frequent use was rightly regarded as a sign of professional incompetence" (pp. 45-46). On the other hand, we are aware that some of the traditional features of New Zealand's secondary schools reflect the values of the ambient society. Indeed, in their apparent orderliness, in the absence of major disruption (although the base-line survey reported verbal abuse in both directions in a quarter of all schools in February 1975), in the high standard of maintenance of buildings and equipment and the apparent rarity of vandalism and graffiti we found much that we would wish to praise and see emulated elsewhere.

Relationships between the generations have changed in all developed countries over the past quarter century, and no doubt New Zealand is no exception in this respect. There are those who would argue strongly against schools making concessions to the values of the so-called youth culture, particularly when some young people appear to have little respect for academic standards or discipline and no interest in pursuing worthwhile studies. We are aware that within many schools, especially those that are explicitly "guidance-oriented" or where the principal and senior staff are skilled in relating successfully to the values and aspirations of a wide spectrum of youth, quiet and undemonstrative work is being done to adapt school regimes to adolescent interests without sacrificing the educational and cultural values to which schools are dedicated. Yet we cannot avoid considering the possibility that the relative uniformity of secondary school provision throughout New Zealand, the difficulty that there is in bringing about substantial across-the-board change in curriculum, the very small number of "alternative"programmes on offer, and the apparent unresponsiveness of many school regimes to the values of the youth culture, may individually or severally contribute to the difficulty that some pupils experience in reconciling themselves to the objectives and purposes of their schools and their teachers, especially when they are members of minority groups within the population, or have special educational needs. It is presumptuous for a group of overseas educators, visiting New Zealand for only a short time, to come to any hard and fast conclusion on a matter of this kind. We make the points in this section of our report merely to act as a basis for subsequent discussion, not as a set of firm conclusions on which some kind of recommendation might be based.

Amending legislation was passed in 1975 which made it possible for adult students to enrol in secondary schools. Many have done so, in order to complete requirements for a School Certificate or UE examination, or to follow other courses and programmes which the school mounts as part of its community education effort. We have seen a number of schools in which this work is well developed, and in which students of all ages are much in evidence about the building. A development of this kind is much to be welcomed. It is fully in accordance with contemporary views on the importance of lifelong learning and enables the school to become a facility used by the whole community, not one only available for students of school age between the hours of 9 and 4. It also reduces age segregation. Not all secondary schools have developed in this way nor do we believe that all should do so. Particularly in the large cities, there is scope for the development of a number of alternative types of secondary school, some more community-oriented than others, able to offer a variety of programmes, regimes and learning styles to students in the area. In order to launch developments of this kind, there is much to be said for modifying the zoning boundaries that normally define the catchment area of a particular high school. A greater element of both parental and student choice is to be welcomed, provided that it does not lead to a more or less rigid stratification of schools in terms of clientele or assumed educational outcome. We do not think that the problems that a relaxation of zoning for this purpose would cause are insoluble, although we recognise that such arrangements are only feasible in the larger centres of population.

In any system with a large number of small units, staffing needs will inevitably arise that cannot be met simply by the appointment of an extra member of staff to a particular school. Even in areas of denser population there is interest during periods of stringency in ways in which staff might be made available to schools without leading to the immediate creation of an additional class, such as has been the customary response of schools in most systems. One of the ways in which New Zealand tackles these problems in its rural areas is through the Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAP) of which there are thirteen throughout North and South Islands. These programmes have an allocation of teaching resources available for distribution, on request, among the schools and community education facilities in each area. We had the opportunity to talk with the staff and members of the management committee of only one REAP, but it was clear from our subsequent enquiries among the principals of schools in its area that the programme was fulfilling an important need and that its existence was appreciated by the schools that benefited from the availability of additional staffing resources. The REAP in question had an allocation of 8.5 teacher equivalents, allocated between itinerant pre-school teachers (3.5), an itinerant guidance teacher, observation and teacher interchange, a seconded teacher/adviser, a teacher for secondary specialist courses and a community education organiser (a permanent appointment). The REAP management committees play a major part in the appointment and control of these itinerant teachers and organisers, offer direction and general oversight of the scheme, suggest ways in which, on the basis of evaluation, resources might be reallocated and "provide a forum in which representatives of local interests and individuals can consider and take some action on the educational requirements and concerns of the district".

The community education adviser appointed under the REAP scheme in the area that we visited has identified some 34 separate organisations and institutions which offer vocational and non-vocational courses of one kind or another for adults. By personal contact, telephone and mail, he is able to undertake a useful amount of co-ordination between these various activities, attempting to ensure that duplication is avoided, an arduous task when so many of the bodies concerned are entirely autonomous, such as private firms, and to identify actual or incipient community needs which one or other of the providing bodies might be in a position to satisfy. We formed the impression that the REAPs are a useful and imaginative approach to the problems of education in a rural area, and to the efficient application of scarce resources. The REAP which we visited shares premises with one of the three education centres, set up as bases for in-service development in rural areas. The full potentialities of such propinquity have yet to be explored, but it appears that a shortage of resources and changes in priorities are not likely to encourage the further development of in-service education centres along the lines of the three which already exist.

We have noted that strong professionalism remains one of the characteristics of the New Zealand education system. There is also strong community support for the schools. The teaching potential of non-teachers in the communities may, however, be under-utilised, and the learning opportunities in non-school environments could more often be mobilised. REAPs may be institutions that could systematically explore ways in which the community—its personalities and arenas—could contribute to the content and process of teaching and learning.

Change in Upper Secondary Education

Our meetings with secondary school principals and teachers suggest that they are conscious of the need for changes, both in curriculum and in regime, that will assist in the retention of more pupils up to and beyond the School Certificate level and strengthen young peuple's capacity to obtain a job. At present, however, they feel themselves inhibited in responding to these needs for several reasons.

Whilst in recent years considerable changes have taken place in form 1-5 secondary syllabuses, which are now at this level better adapted to attract and hold the interest of a broader spectrum of secondary age students, there has been less change in the work at upper levels. Some of those with whom we have spoken in the course of our examination attribute this to the need for universities to ensure that those who are going on to degree-level study should have the necessary competencies and knowledge to succeed. Unfortunately, only a minority of those who study for the University Entrance examination at the end of the sixth form do in fact proceed to university. As far as Canterbury students are concerned, we have been told that the figure in a recent year was as low as 28 per cent. There is thus considerable support among secondary principals and staff for the removal of the UE or equivalent examination to the end of the seventh form, freeing the school to undertake post-school certificate work that will be more likely to encourage retention and a sense of accomplishment among those not academically inclined. The importance of such a change is underlined by emerging policy for tertiary education. In addition to benefiting those who do not intend to go on to university, such an arrangement would also enable those with university ambitions to achieve the higher standards that beginning new courses require. Some, at least, of those who helped us with our examination felt that the present UE standards are inadequate for those intending to specialise in certain disciplines and professional schools, and that it would be wise to recognise this by institutionalising a seventh-form examination that would serve the purpose of university entrance and the award of bursaries and scholarships. There were, however, some university representatives who supported strongly the retention of UE at the end of the sixth form.

In the course of our brief visit it was not possible to reach a firm conclusion. We are, however, convinced of the need for this aspect of secondary education to receive early attention if New Zealand's schools are to serve the interests and needs of the future adult generation. At present, too much attention is given and status attached to an examination relevant for only a small minority of the total secondary population. Parents, understandably enough, wish their children to have an opportunity to take this examination, not merely because it qualifies them for university but also because it is useful in the job market. For the same reason, there has in certain areas been some shift of preference towards private schools based upon ancient foundations, and with a strong tradition of preparation for upper level examinations.

Technical institutes and community colleges sometimes find that pre-UE applicants from the schools have a less than adequate knowledge of English, mathematics and other subjects relevant to the studies and professional training that they wish to undertake. It would clearly be of value if the schools could retain a somewhat larger proportion of such children for a longer time, sending them on to further study or employment with a higher level of competence and understanding in basic skills. On the other hand, students who are relatively unsuccessful in school subjects will have a better understanding of them, and a higher motivation to learn them in connection with specific tasks, concrete problems and clearly useful skills. To retain these students for a longer time at today's academically-oriented secondary schools may not produce the desired outcome. For the young man and woman who is not going on to university, the curriculum and values of existing secondary schools appear to need some adaptation to the available forms of education and training in non-university tertiary institutions, and subsequent employment in industry and in commerce. In some countries, this is being met by establishing new two-year institutions to cater for young people in the 16 to 19 age group, offering not only pre-vocational, vocational and a modified general education, less academic than that of the traditional high school, but also making provision for those in this age group who wish to continue with university-level studies. The curriculum and regime of such institutions is designed deliberately to cope with the requirements of a broad spectrum of young people within the 16-to-19-year-old age group, and to encourage retention in ways that will reduce youth unemployment, enhance labour market competitiveness, and provide a meaningful life style and set of educational experiences for young men and women who might otherwise be unemployed for longer or shorter periods.

We believe that a gap exists in this respect in New Zealand. It is filled in part by the efforts that some secondary schools are making to diversify their upper level programmes, and cater for those who wish to return to school after a period on the job market in order to improve their qualifications. It is also met, to an even more limited degree, by the courses that technical institutions, polytechnics, and community colleges make available for the younger school-leaver

—a kind of alternative secondary education. The Currie Commission examined the possibility of creating "junior colleges" which would help to cater for the type of student "who at present does not willingly return to school for what is provided in a typical VI-A course but who, nevertheless, is seeking further education" (p. 215) and thought that if such students began to appear in any numbers, "the country will have to choose between either diversifying the present academic VI-A courses or concentrating facilities for such students at particular points". The first was seen as largely inpracticable in terms of the teachers and resources available, the second as a choice between developing junior colleges, "or extending and diversifying the programmes of the regional technical institutes". This last course of action was preferred. As in many countries, however, these tertiary institutions, which originally grew out of the "technical tops" of the high schools, have sought to establish their position and status by concentrating upon work of a somewhat higher level than is generally appropriate to students in the 15-18 age range.

We have already suggested that we do not think it is feasible to set up a new system of 16-19 institutions in New Zealand, not least because the existence of the intermediate schools already creates a shorter secondary cycle for most students than is customary elsewhere. Principals and secondary specialist teachers are unlikely to welcome the removal of their older students, work with whom offers an important source of satisfaction and status. They also fear the loss of their most highly qualified staff to the new institutions. Nonetheless, if, as a result of sharply falling rolls in some urban areas, the closing of local high schools becomes necessary, we hope that the possibility of limited experiments with new kinds of upper secondary level institution will not be neglected. The availability of alternative types of upper secondary education would be of benefit to New Zealand, especially in view of the current uniformity of school types throughout the country (although, of course, with some existing differentiation between form-three-to-seven high schools, one-to-seven high schools and area schools).

We noted in an earlier section of this report that the ideology of secondary education in New Zealand places considerable stress upon equality of treatment and opportunity. In many places, especially in rural areas, parents have no choice of secondary school. Everyone must attend the local high school or area school, which is genuinely "common" for families in the district concerned, unless they wish, as a very small minority do, to send their children to a city high school with boarding facilities, or to a private school. The position in the cities is more complicated. The single-sex schools, especially those based on old foundations, have somewhat higher retention rates at the upper levels, and particularly in Auckland may command more prestige among parents in relation to the achievement of scholarships, bursaries, favoured forms of employment and other benefits. Of the males in single-sex schools, 53.1 per cent, and of the females 47.1 per cent are retained from the F6 to the F7 level, as against 25.6 and 21.1 per cent respectively in the co-educational schools. At other levels, differences between the two types of school are not significant, except perhaps that co-educational schools are more successful than single-sex girls' schools in keeping their female students from the F5 to the F6 level (61.6 per cent as against 44.4 per cent). In common with many other countries, there has among certain groups been something of a reaction in New Zealand during recent years against less formal patterns of secondary education, and in favour of more structured and "relevant" programmes, traditional in many of their aspects, requiring high standards of behaviour, and making few concessions to contemporary youth culture. Some of these are consciously academic in orientation. Others cater explicitly for the needs of minority groups. Although there are criteria laid down which schools must apply in the case of out-of-zone applicants, these are not rigidly or inflexibly observed, and some schools, especially those which cannot fill all their places with open-entry children from their own zones, are able to admit a proportion of students from elsewhere whom they consider will benefit from the curriculum and regime that is offered. As a result, some schools tend to grow in reputation, while others may, at least for a time, decline. Thus, despite the ideology of equality which we have found to be so prominent in New Zealand, there are forces at work similar to those in other countries, that tend to differentiate schools both socially and academically. This may not always be consistent with dominant educational values (although possibly welcome to proponents of economic development through the fostering of elites) or reflect accurately the quality of what a particular school offers (as distinct from the former work on which its present reputation is based). Some measure of diversity, provided that it is based on acceptable educational criteria, is, however, to be encouraged. What the Currie Commission said about this twenty years ago is equally relevant today:

> "Such uniformity as we have in New Zealand calls for considerable alertness, on the part of the teaching body and the directing professional officers of the Department of Education, to the possibilities of both local innovation and experiment and the application to New Zealand of changes and developments overseas" (p. 216).

If, as a result of declining rolls, some schools are able to accept larger numbers of out-of-zone students, tendencies towards social and academic differentiation may be increased. The problem could be avoided by ensuring that the notional roll of each school is kept in line with the numbers of within-zone children, and that some control is retained over the proportion of out-of-zone entrants. It might be argued against such a policy that schools which have proved their merit, in the eyes of parents and the community, should be encouraged to make what they offer more widely available. Yet the *relative* lack of differentiation between schools that we have found in New Zealand is much to be preferred to the sharp differences in quality and level of provision that can be encountered elsewhere. Inevitably, schools in favoured residential areas tend to be able to raise more money through their schools committees and parent-teacher associations than those in poorer districts. This is to some extent compensated, at least as far as equipment is concerned, by the basic provision that is now common to all schools, but important differences remain because of parental contributions. Any tendency to move away from the principles that have so far informed the provision of New Zealand education—those of a free, open access system, offering a common pattern of opportunities to all children, irrespective or social class or race—towards users paying in proportion to services actually received (even though this would permit relief for the taxpayer and a reduction in public expenditure) might lead to undesirable forms of differentiation which in the long run could involve heavy political and social costs.

In some cities there has been a marked increase in recent years in the number of secondary school suspensions of pupils. District inspectors have had to devote a good deal of time to placing suspended pupils below the school leaving age in alternative institutions, and in ensuring that those past the leaving age do not lose contact with educational and welfare agencies. "Activity centres" have been set up on a small scale to help students who are at high risk for unemployment but are not at present assisted with adequate resources of money and guidance. We were also invited to a residential school for girls (aged 13-16) who were facing major problems in their lives. We were impressed by the co-operative atmosphere and the creative way in which students and staff ran this institution. The daily life of the school as a household functioned as an educational project, requiring development and reinforcement, through regular use, of basic social and practical skills. Collective and individual concerns seemed well balanced in the school's philosophy as well as its implementation.

It is perfectly understandable that secondary school principals will not wish to retain pupils who persistently disrupt the work of others. Some provision, however, has to be made for disruptive pupils who are under 15, and it is desirable that those who are suspended above this age should not simply be allowed to drift into unemployment or onto the street.

Unless something is done to diversify upper secondary education in New Zealand away from a too exclusive academic focus, it seems likely that problems of this kind will increase. Given the enormous costs of custodial care for young people found guilty of committing offences, and the cost of damage caused by vandalism and other illegitimate activities, there would seem to be a strong case for using some of the resources that will be freed by falling rolls in order to attend to the issues that we have sought to identify in this chapter. This will call for the intervention of government departments other than Education, and will raise some of the inevitable difficulties of inter-sectoral planning. It is easy for complex issues to fall between the cracks of departmental responsibility or to be subject to inconsistent requirements. We welcomed the evidence presented to us concerning arrangements for inter-departmental liaison, and believe that these will need further support and strengthening if the problems to which unemployment and economic restructuring give rise are to receive adequate attention.

In summary, the secondary schools of New Zealand appear for the most part to be well organised, productive and capable of work that stands comparison with any other system of secondary education in the world. In pointing up what we believe to be some of the present and likely future problems for this system, we are not suggesting that a crisis of confidence exists, or that a radical structural transformation is needed. Some changes at the upper secondary level, however, do seem desirable. If the political will, administrative drive, and additional resources needed are all available, we have not seen any problems in New Zealand secondary schools that are incapable of resolution.

Secondary School Examinations

In the last three years of the full secondary cycle there are no fewer than six different awards—School Certificate, Sixth-Form Certificate, University Entrance, Higher-School Certificate, University Bursaries and Entrance Scholarhips. Of the nearly 60 000 students who left secondary schools in 1980 only 8.3 per cent had University Bursaries examination passes, and 0.4 per cent University Scholarships. Two-thirds had a pass in one or more School Certificate subjects or higher qualifications; a third had no attainment of any kind. Yet much of the curriculum in the fifth, sixth and seventh forms is directed towards the kinds of academic success that School Certificate, University Entrance and University Bursaries examinations recognise. For so long as this is the case, there will be difficulty in achieving recognition for those subjects that have more explicit relevance for the future studies and careers that most students will pursue, and which will appeal to a wider spectrum of students than those intending to enter a university.

During the course of our review we encountered a wide range of opinions about what needed to be done. Most of our informants agreed that the present pattern, although reasonably well adapted to the needs of the student with academic intentions, does not offer a satisfactory means of motivating and evaluating the work of that majority of students who do not continue into full-time tertiary education. Agreement about the need for change was not matched by consensus about the direction that change might take. It was widely admitted that considerable obstacles stand in the path of any wide-ranging reform. The present pattern has evolved over a long period. A major restructuring would require a lengthy process of consultation, and would need to establish credibility with parents, employers, universities and all those who currently use the various levels of school examination for screening and credentialling purposes. It may be a worthwhile exercise to investigate to what extent these certificates are actually used —and useful—in screening for employment. A research project in Norway revealed that employers utilised such information much less than expected when employing young people.

Schools may, for reasons of organisation and motivation, have exaggerated the universal instrumentality of their formal examinations, while overlooking the burden of defeat and stigma on the great number of students who fail or "are failed".

Accrediting for the UE examination was introduced as long ago as 1944. The present School Certificate was introduced in 1946, as was the Higher-School Certificate. The University Bursaries examination came in 1966, School Certificate became a single subject award in 1968 and the Sixth-form Certificate took the same path in 1974. New Zealand is probably unique in having formal examinations at the end of each of the last three years of the full five-year secondary cycle. A small proportion of children remain in the secondary school for only two years, until the age of 15. The great majority stay on for a year in the "fifth form" at the end of which they sit for the School Certificate. The certificate is available in a wide range of subjects, which are taken individually. Passes are graded A (80-100), B (65-79) and C (50-64). English is compulsory, and additional subjects can be taken up to a total of six. In the latest year for which figures were available (1980), some 76 469 candidates entered, 29.2 per cent passing in at least four subjects, 69.9 per cent in at least one subject, and 30.1 per cent failing all subjects. The average number of subjects entered was 4.4 and those passed 2.1.

The performance of pakeha candidates was markedly better than that of their Maori counterparts. There were 7 000 Maori candidates in the total, of whom 10.9 per cent passed in at least four subjects, 49.7 per cent in at least one subject and 50.3 per cent failed altogether[6].

At present about one third of all New Zealand secondary school pupils leave school without a certificate or award of any kind. Some students take alternative certificates at the fifth-form level, the requirements for which are less demanding than those for School Certificate. The examination and assessments on which the awards of alternative certificates are made are school-based, and are used by students as proof that they have reached a certain standard in the subject concerned. They do not, however, contribute to any reduction in time for apprenticeships, nor do they carry credit towards the National Certificates.

There is considerable interest in some quarters in formalising the award of alternative certificates, in order to offer a useful credential in practical and other subjects for those boys and girls unlikely to succeed in the School Certificate. Some people feel that such alternative awards *should* carry credit towards apprenticeships and other forms of post-secondary provision. Although the parallels are not exact, we were reminded of the English Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) as a lower-level alternative to the ordinary level of the General Certificate of Education (GCE). Although there was support at the time of its introduction for such a separate examination, a top-level pass in each subject of which is equivalent to a GCE award, it has been found that the existence of two alternative forms of examination to be taken at the same age has had a distorting effect on

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6. Department of Education, *School Certificate Examination Statistics 1980*, Wellington, 1981.

school programmes and pupil choice. There have recently been attempts to combine the CSE and GCE into a common examination, although with a wider range of papers and standards than the original GCE. We would ourselves have doubts about the virtues of formalising an alternative fifth-form examination on a national basis, although for so long as the School Certificate exists in its present form, there may well be an argument for offering alternative certificates locally.

Entry to the sixth form is a decision for the school principal, although certain standards of achievement in the School Certificate are expected. At the end of the sixth form, i.e. the fourth year of the full secondary cycle, students are assessed for a Sixth-Form Certificate and/or University Entrance. The Sixth-Form Certificate is a departmental qualification, courses for which must be approved by inspectors. The certificate is internally assessed and results are awarded on a grade system of 1 to 9. A total score of 12 or better in four subjects qualifies a candidate to receive a tertiary assistance grant, and a grade 7 or better is regarded as the equivalent of a School Certificate pass in the subject concerned. Employers, including the State Services Commission, recognise passes of an appropriate level in the Sixth-Form Certificate as equivalent to University Entrance, and the certificate is also used as a screening and credentialling device in a wide range of employments. Any number of subjects from 1 to 6 can be entered, and the range of subjects is very wide indeed. The Sixth-Form Certificate is, however, an internal award, and does not at present have the status or recognition that is accorded to the longer established UE.

Students are assessed for University Entrance also at the end of their sixth form year. There are 24 subjects, all "academic" with the exception of Practical Art and Technical Drawing. The examination is again on an individual subject basis, although there are several mixed multi-level courses available. Anyone who wishes to use the qualification to enter university must take at least four subjects, including English. A maximum of six subjects may be taken, although most students sit for five. The specificity of the title UE conceals the range of purposes for which it is employed. Professional courses at technical institutes i.e. in accountancy and pharmacy, require candidates to have passed in UE, and it is frequently specified as a minimum qualification for employment. A proportion of those passing UE at the end of the sixth form go straight to university, although the majority (80 per cent) of those who will eventually enrol for a degree direct from school continue for a seventh year prior to university admission.

At the end of the seventh form i.e. the fifth and final year of the full secondary cycle, students are awarded a Higher-School Certificate, which recognises the completion of a full secondary schooling, including two years post-School Certificate, and a proportion also sit for University Bursaries and Scholarship examinations. Again, 24 subjects are available, all academic with the exception of Practical Art. Each subject entered carries a minimum of 100 marks, and candidates may take three, four or five subjects. Those who receive 300 marks or better receive an "A" award currently worth $150 per year on top of the Tertiary Assistance Grant of $27 per week. Students achieving between 230 and 299 marks receive a "B" award of $100 per year in addition to the basic tertiary award. High fliers can offer three of their bursaries examinations subjects at a higher level, and the top 160 are awarded "Junior Scholarships" which carry $400 per year over and above the tertiary grant.

Schools may apply to the Universities Entrance Board (UEB) for accrediting status. The UEB makes its decision on the following criteria: principal and staff qualifications and experience, adequacy of facilities, including library and laboratories, and the level of University Entrance examination performance (or, in new schools, School Certificate performance) in past years. During the mid-1970s approval was given for a number of School Certificate subjects to be internally assessed. At present, the subjects that are 100 per cent internally assessed include agricultural engineering, NESC* English (in fifteen schools), humanities "A" and "B", mathematics in Canterbury-Westland, Northland and Nelson-Marlborough, modular science and workshop technology. In addition, Indonesian, Japanese and Latin Studies have varying degrees of internal assessment short of 100 per cent. The number of schools offering these internally assessed subjects is modest, ranging from one each in agricultural engineering, humanities "A" and "B", to 39 in mathematics (Canterbury-Westland). Art is the exception, which is offered on an internally assessed basis in 341 schools. No new internal assessment patterns have been approved since 1978, although officers of the Department of Education are confident that the methods of moderation now available can ensure that appropriate standards are applied and that results are comparable with those arrived at by external assessment at this level.

According to the performance of their pupils in the School Certificate, most secondary schools are "accredited" in respect of the University Entrance examination, and may recommend students for the award on the basis of their performance during and at the end of the sixth-form course. Some students whom schools do not feel able to accredit are entered for the examination on an external basis, and it is assumed that between 5 and 10 per cent of these will pass. The Sixth-Form Certificate and Higher-School Certificate are internal awards. Bursary and scholarship examinations are externally set and assessed.

In discussing the current and likely future state of examination reform, we have encountered some stereotyping of attitudes. In the schools, we have heard that difficulty arises from university influence on prescriptions. University people contest this. They point out that most members of the committees concerned with curriculum change are themselves school teachers. University convenors act as Chairmen, but would, it is argued, not be able to direct discussion in particular directions of their own choosing. In any case, Department of Education officials are present at meetings, and differences of opinion are often found *within* the universities. New Zealand, it is argued, cannot escape from the worldwide phenomenon that curriculum discussion has to some extent become politicised. What should be taught, and how it should be taught, owes something to the view that individuals take of what constitutes the good society, and the desirable political and social arrangements of such societies. In many subjects, there are genuine and legitimate differences of opinion among teachers on the direction that change should take.

Furthermore, it has been suggested to us that it would be quite inappropriate for a society that has decided to entrust its higher education to universities, to exclude teachers in those universities from exercising some influence over the curriculum of secondary schools. It is contended that not all that influence is in the direction of creating "academic" curricula. Indeed, in many subjects, it is feasible to construct a syllabus and examination system that caters for the needs of a wide spectrum of young people, with or without academic interests and intentions. The factors that are holding up this process cannot, in the views of some of those with whom we have spoken, be seen simply in terms of a conflict between the teaching profession and the universities.

The UEB in 1976 circulated the report of its Steering Committee on Entrance to University to schools, universities and the Department of Education. The Steering Committee's findings were that entry to university should continue to be liberal and flexible, i.e., that while the common route to university should be through form 7, "bright" (the top 20-25 per cent) students should be permitted entry from form 6, and entry by accrediting for those lacking UE but attending teachers' colleges and technical institutes should be provided for. It found also that Sixth-form Certificate should be the only form-6 qualification i.e., the present form-6 UE should be abolished. There was general agreement that the University Bursaries Examination be used as an examination for admission to university from form 7.

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* National English Syllabus Committee.

It was clear from our discussions with various interest groups in education that there is still disagreement about the levels of entry from the form-6 examination that might replace UE. Departmental officials argue that a score of 18-20 from the best four sixth-form examination passes should be the criterion equivalent to the standard at present required to qualify for the award of university entrance. Teachers organisations and the universities argue for the higher standard represented by a score of 12 or better.

No one suggests that a structure of such long standing can be changed overnight. Nonetheless, in the face of the major changes in clientele and mission that confront secondary teachers today, we have not found evidence of a strong sense of urgency in initiating the necessary administrative and academic adjustments.

Discussion of syllabuses for forms 5, 6 and 7 is still largely separate from the revision processes for forms 1 to 4, which are carried out by curriculum development officers of the Department of Education working with teachers and school inspectors. The Ministry of Education approves revisions. Fifth-form syllabuses and prescriptions are the responsibility of the School Certificate Examination Board; UE comes under the Universities Entrance Board. There are anxieties in some quarters that any attempt to bring the work of all these bodies under a single set of administrative arrangements might diminish independence, particularly that of the Universities Examination Board, and serve to introduce an orthodoxy that would not be in the best interests of New Zealand education. It is contended that not all responsibility for governance of the curriculum should be in the hands of Department of Education officials. There is also some lack of conviction about the existence of an adequate will to bring about the changes in structure and administration that are widely believed to be necessary.

It was proposed as long ago as 1977 that a working party should be set up to look at the future of the UE examination, but it was not until 1981 that such a group came into existence under the joint chairmanship of the Director-General and the Chairman of the University Grants Committee. Differences of opinion exist about the basis of representation on the Board of Studies that has been proposed by the Department to oversee both UE and School Certificate examinations. Some believe that this body should include representatives of the employers and others from outside the education profession. The UEB wishes to protect its right to determine the qualifications of those who are qualified to enter universities. There is awareness of difficulties encountered overseas in creating a common pattern of examinations—particularly the history of the merger of GCE and CSE in England, to which reference has already been made. Some of those with whom we discussed the matter thought that much would be gained by making University Entrance a seventh-form examination. Only a small number of students at present enter university direct from the sixth form, and a seventh-form UE might possibly assist retention and also free the sixth-form year from external assessment.

Not all those with whom we spoke agreed, however, that it would be wise to make a change of this kind. University people argued for the retention of sixth-form entry to university for a minority of candidates, particularly the most able in non-scientific and non-laboratory subjects (for scientific subjects, completion of 7th-year work is often seen as a prerequisite). At present, only about 16 per cent of secondary pupils are retained into the 7th form. Whilst this number would certainly increase if UE became a 7th-form examination, it has been suggested to us that there would be little incentive for secondary teachers to achieve the reforms of sixth-form work that many see as desirable and necessary. Both sixth- and seventh-form teaching might become concentrated on academic success in the UE. A similar argument applies to the possibility of moving the School Certificate one year up, to the end of the sixth form. Once again, the incentive to achieve a reform of sixth-form studies would be diminished.

Although these issues are under discussion in various places, they are not yet the subject of any sustained national effort on an agreed basis. The kinds of post-secondary study and work to which many young people will go in the closing decades of the present century and beyond can no longer readily be encompassed by the aggregation of existing disciplines as they have been traditionally taught in the secondary school. As the Department of Education has noted in its background report, the present secondary curriculum, and the means available for its assessment, are still very much geared to academic accomplishment by the most able quartile of the age cohort. Something more than this is needed if all those attending secondary school are to be taught in ways appropriate to their abilities, if their dispositions are to be motivated towards success, and if they are to obtain from their schooling a sense of accomplishment and of worth that will sustain them in the new forms of post-secondary study and employment they will face.

Despite the lack of agreement on a precise solution to all these problems, one thing seems clear to us: the UE prescription should be removed from the sixth form. Whether it should be transferred to the seventh form or disappear altogether; whether admission to the university from the sixth form should continue; what should be the nature of the new sixth-form examinations articulated to a wider curriculum are matters to be determined in the light of New Zealand conditions. But in the examiners' view, they are matters deserving urgent consideration.

VI

TERTIARY EDUCATION

Technical Institutes and Community Colleges

The technical institutes in New Zealand grew from the local and regional technical schools and colleges that had developed during the first half of the century out of the 19th century evening classes. Wellington Technical College was established as early as 1886. The Technical Correspondence School, now part of the Technical Institute system, was set up in 1946 on the basis of war-time study courses provided by the Army Education Service. In 1960 the Central Institute of Technology was designated, and some of the other technical institutes have since been identified as national centres for specialised trades, such as bakery and boat-building. There are now 14 technical institutes, 5 community colleges and 2 "Senior Technical Divisions", the latter attached to secondary schools and intended as a basis for later development as technical institutes or community colleges.

The non-university system of post-secondary provision is looked to by Government to meet a very wide range of economic, social and community needs. Many of these are regional and local. Some are national.

Enrolments in the last year for which figures are available (1981) were just under 7 000 full-time and some 66 000 part-time students. Many institutes offer short courses for which there are nearly 100 000 enrolments. The institutes and colleges are distributed throughout the country from Whangarei in the North to Invercargill in the South. Students from remote areas are catered for by Technical Correspondence Institute, which offers courses in some 900 subjects. Some of these courses are also used by institutes which cannot from their own resources offer all the options that students may require to complete their programmes of study.

It will be clear that by international standards most of the technical institutes and community colleges are of relatively modest size. In common with similar institutions in other countries, they employ a very large number of part-time sessional staff, and a core of full-time lecturers and instructors.

Students registered for full-time courses at technical institutes and community colleges come under the provisions of the Tertiary Assistance Grants Scheme and those over 20 may receive a total of some $60 per week in basic allowances and supplementary hardship grants. Three-quarters of most students' fees are met through the Tertiary Fee Grant. There is some financial assistance available for adults who wish to pursue full-time study for a School Certificate or for University Entrance. In comparison with elsewhere, the costs of all forms of vocational, non-vocational, "second chance" and recreational courses in New Zealand are small as far as the individual student is concerned. Current projections of a major growth in technical institute and community college enrolments derive from relating numbers of 15-24-years-olds, and Statistics Department forecasts based upon median migration and fertility assumptions, to raw student hours (RSH) divided by 800 to yield student full-time equivalents (FTE). This calculation shows a FTE of some 20 000 in 1981 increasing to as many as 32 000 in 1995.

Vocational courses at technical institutes are classified as Group I, II and III. The first group includes, for example, introductory trade training courses; introduction to supervisory staff development, business law, statistics, accounting and administration; shorthand and typing; welding, workshop practice, Maori pre-apprenticeship training schemes; cooking for the catering industry, and Year-1 languages among a great variety of other offerings. Group II courses are more advanced, including higher grade work for some of the occupations already identified, as well as professional accountancy, social work and other professional preparation programmes. Group III subjects embrace the Diploma in Comprehensive Nursing, Institute of Management qualifications, the Quantity Surveyors Registration Board examination, and numerous other post-basic and advanced awards. All these are merely illustrations. The range of different subjects on offer is very wide, as is clear from the prospectuses and course outlines with which we were provided in the course of our examination.

The diverse roles of the colleges and institutes inevitably require them to select priorities and emphases. Quite properly, these differ somewhat from one place to another. Provision of technical training of a largely vocational kind is of long standing in New Zealand. Community colleges are of more recent origin. In practice, however, the differences between the two kinds of institutions are less great than the differences in their titles would suggest. It is probably the case that the staff of some of the community colleges are collectively less committed to giving priority to vocational training, and more interested in broader community service, including liaison with voluntary associations, the conduct of "outreach" programmes on and off-campus, and in responding to, and helping to generate, community-based, rather than industrial or commercial demands. The fact remains that a high proportion of the work of the community colleges is as vocational as that of the technical institutes. Similarly, many technical institutes engage in activities that go considerably beyond strictly vocational purposes.

We have had difficulty therefore in identifying a mission for the community colleges that distinguishes them from technical institutes in a way adequate to justify the difference in nomenclature. The similarities between them extend to the terms and conditions of service of staff, the basis of funding (weighted student hours for the most part) and the manner of their governance. A statement by the present Director-General of Education in the early days of community college development confirms our view that the difference between technical institutes and community colleges is indeed one of emphasis rather than function. Mr. Renwick argued that vocational and non-vocational work could and should be conducted by both kinds of institution. Up to that point, however, the technical institutes had been somewhat discouraged from extending their non-vocational offerings, on the grounds that all their resources should be concentrated on the much needed provision of vocational programmes. The new community colleges would not be subject to this inhibition. It was "considered essential to the concept of a community college that its non-vocational teaching responsibilities and community services be promoted as vigorously as its vocational".

It has been suggested to us by representatives of community college staffs and councils that a distinctive mission for their institutions can and should be determined, and that this should involve changes in the basis of funding, designed to give recognition to activities that cannot depend upon enrolment-based calculations of student load. We do not see that there exists an adequate basis or rationale for such distinctiveness.

The development of community colleges was undoubtedly a characteristic of a period in which funds were much more readily available than today, and when the range of functions and activities for which it was felt state provision might be made was conceived somewhat more broadly than now seems possible. In the range of their responsibilities, and the kind of funding consistent with them, the community college idea grew from seeds suited to a warm financial climate. That climate has now changed. At a time when economies are being sought in many aspects of educational provision, it will doubtless be asked if there is still room for encouraging extensive non-vocational provision that does not appear to contribute directly to the production of wealth or that helps to overcome the structural weaknesses of the New Zealand economy.

We believe that substantially to reduce non-vocational funding in community colleges and technical institutes for such reasons would be short-sighted. Many of the non-vocational programmes offered at this level add to the social competence of young people and adults, and offer a broad base on which subsequent or parallel skill development can more readily take place. Not all the problems that beset New Zealand society are purely economic. The weakening of the nuclear family, lack of neighbourhood identity, the erosion of civil responsibility, are all weaknesses which show up sooner or later in social statistics, and the amelioration of the effects of which can prove extremely expensive. Publicly-funded programmes of continuing education offer no panacea for such ills. Nonetheless, they can make a significant preventive and palliative contribution that may be especially important if current levels of unemployment increase and are found to be structural in origin rather than the product of temporary recession. Moreover, the charging of modest fees for courses that do not lead to certification may enable the expansion of non-vocational courses without imposing too great a burden on the public purse.

We found that the level of both vocational and non-vocational provision varies considerably between regions. In Northland, for example, the community college at Whangarei, established in 1978, caters at present for about 200 young people and adults who are unemployed or in temporary placements and who are seeking skills to increase their competitive standing in the labour market. The number of unemployed in the region is large. There are probably 1 000 more young people in the college's catchment area who could benefit from such provision, and for whom it is not at present available.

As in most countries, there are points of friction between the technical institutes, the secondary schools, and the industries and occupations for which they are expected to provide training. Generally speaking, representatives of particular industries are not in a good position to define training needs beyond their own particular interests. Institute staff, although they may possess the advantage of a broader view, have sometimes been away from the actual work place for too long to possess a credible and up-to-date view of what is required. The institutes thus attempt to respond to needs that may not be well defined and their own efforts to initiate ideas are not always sympathetically received or responded to. The range of activities and occupational skills present in the technical institute system should provide valuable opportunities for interdisciplinary contact and innovation. Future physiotherapists might for instance learn how some of the ills they seek to cure actually develop and could be prevented by co-operating with fellow students in other studies and observing them at work. These students and their teachers might also as a result increase their potential for self-care, which is clearly beneficial for health as well as for the economy.

Most occupations depend on having useful and maintaining increasingly sophisticated instruments. Again alertness and skills might be enhanced by more contact "across corridors". It was our impression, however, that studies tend to be organised in "splendid isolation" with little room for cross-disciplinary learning between specialisms.

The Vocational Training Council fulfils a valuable role in mediating between these groups, although teachers in technical institutes feel that they are under-represented on Training Boards and other bodies concerned with defining the training needs of industry. There is also something of a philosophical difference between the weight that institute staffs, as educators, attach to personal and general education and the sometimes more instrumental requirements of industry. It has been put to us that the ability of the technical institutes and community colleges to respond quickly to local and regional needs is an essential strength of this part of the system. At present, all new courses, other than those provided on a self-supporting basis or which do not involve enrolment-based expenditure, require the approval of the Department of Education: no one institution has the overall picture of existing regional or national provision, nor do institutional assessments of need and priority constitute a prior claim on resources. This said, however, we encountered a good deal of feeling on the part of College and Institute staff and Council members about the need for more autonomy and discretion in the use of funds and in the provision of courses and support of activities. The discretionary budgets of most institutions are small. Salaries and many other recurrent costs are met directly from the centre. The amount for which the College or Institute Council and its Director have direct responsibility is sometimes less than 10 per cent of total expenditure. Principals do not always feel that they have the autonomy to respond to local and regional needs with sufficient speed, the weighted student hour allowance that is within their own discretion being inadequate for this purpose and the formula itself having a restricting effect on any activity that cannot be demonstrably based on tutors standing in front of classes. To meet local expenditure technical institutes would prefer more freedom, including budget and personnel, to grasp local challenges, including perhaps unconventional recruitment of students (stands in supermarkets and on street corners were mentioned to us as examples of approaches tried with success). Many potential students lack the self-confidence to approach educational institutions on their own. For school leavers without adequate qualifications, people with minority status, and many women, a series of "stepping stones" to training and employment are necessary. Unconventional educational initiatives may perform some such "stepping stone" functions.

Local authorities in New Zealand have no responsibilities in respect of tertiary education. Whilst it is possible for a college to mount self-supporting courses—the fees or non-government sources of funds for which cover both direct and indirects costs—it is not possible for a local authority to raise a local rate or tax which would support kinds of educational provision which do not need approval from central office. It was pointed out to us that, in this respect at least, there is something of a clash between the concept of a community college and the realities of central funding. Any cut in revenue that might be decided upon by central government is felt in full in each part of the system, there being no means whereby local resources might be drawn upon to counter the effects of centrally-determined reductions.

We found considerable differences in opinion about the reality and usefulness of consultative processes relating to the development of community college education. Some felt that on the basis of meetings they had attended in Wellington, the claim that full consultation had in fact taken place was unjustified. Others contended that the effort to achieve meaningful consultation was real enough, but that there were inevitably difficulties in ensuring that all the staff affected by a particular change were warned in advance and had opportunity to present a point of view. To some extent it was felt that this was a responsibility of the representatives of particular interests, who had a duty to report back as fully as possible to their respective constituencies. This did not always occur.

Teachers in secondary schools are not felt to be sufficiently well informed about the work of the technical institutes, and to be biased towards academic rather than industrial futures for their pupils. The liaison arrangements between institutions at different levels, which we felt to be well developed in the case of primary, intermediate and high schools, do not always seem to be so prominent in the case of secondary school and technical institute co-operation.

Finally, the growing volume of resources for educational purposes that are at the disposal of departments other than Education—Labour, Social Welfare, Maori Affairs—does not always make for ease of co-ordination and action, and consultative arrangements between these departments at both national and local level are not always felt to be adequate.

Work-based study predominates in the offerings of technical institutes and community colleges. Ninety per cent of the students are already members of the work force and are in attendance by means of block courses, other forms of work release, and evening study. Nevertheless, there is some concern outside the colleges that they should "stick to their last" and not begin to develop a mission of general education, similar to that offered by schools and universities. Indeed, the Director-General has stated this position clearly in an address to the Technical Institutes Association at the end of November 1981:

> "... the Technical Institutes have a very different mission from that of the schools on the one hand and the universities on the other. They are not providing courses of general education for all students but vocational courses to students who are employed or who are about to be employed in a job for which some quite specific vocational education is necessary."

Calls for greater autonomy for technical institutes are sometimes opposed on the grounds that this would lead to a proliferation of general courses, failure to recognise and respond to needs of industry, and the emergence of a "philosophy" of technical institute work that would introduce problems of overlap with the schools on the one hand and the universities on the other. Our discussions with technical institute staff, although on a limited scale, did not suggest that, given their head, the institutes would at once set off on a path that would compete with other institutions or fail to achieve the purposes for which they were set up. The feeling that they might do so may in part be due to the anxieties they express about the relative narrowness of employers' training requirements, and the difficulty that many employers have in recognising the longer-term training needs of the work force, as against the kinds of skill and knowledge that would yield an immediate return. The Industry Training Boards and other representative bodies seek to define the training needs of particular occupations. Some of the larger firms have their own training schools staffed by well qualified instructors and educators. But the high proportion of workers employed in small firms, which, with the best will in the world, are unable to offer a full range of training opportunities, and may also lack a perception of the total work environment that provides the context of their own operations, means that some clashes of opinion and orientation are probably unavoidable. It is important that the various forums that have been created for the exchange of opinion and experience on such matters, not only nationally in the form of bodies like the Transition Committee, but also on a local basis, should bring these problems into the open and seek to resolve them through rational arguments, rather than resort to stereotyping and the restatement of clichés about the stances of different groups which are unhelpful to mutual understanding and policy implementation. In this connection, the establishment of the national and district committees that has been proposed by the

National Advisory Committee on Transition from School to Working Life should serve a valuable purpose.

In a country with a small population and a scattered pattern of rural settlement outside the main urban centres, some provision for distance education is of considerable importance. There already exist extensive provision of this kind in New Zealand, through the work at school level of the Correspondence School, and in continuing education, of the Technical Correspondence Institute and of Massey University's external degree programmes. A working party on continuing education at a distance reported in mid-1979 and came to the conclusion that the U.K. Open University system, which had attracted a great deal of international attention during the 1970s, had little to offer in New Zealand that was not already in place. On the other hand, in the committee's words:

> "to reject the idea of a new 'Open University' system for New Zealand as we do is not to dispose completely of the question of a new organisation for open learning. The concept of 'openness' usually refers to open access, open delivery, and non-traditional study. The Open University and Massey extramural study are relatively open in the first and second respects, but not so much in the third."

In relation to the development of non-traditional study, the committee saw that the technical institutes and community colleges might offer far more in their regions than the introduction of a new and expensive organisational framework based upon the extensive use of television. In this respect, the examiners have been impressed by the local provision that is made, for example, by Southland Community College, which has off-campus co-ordinating committees operative in more than a dozen centres throughout Southland, and which offers regular courses and seminars in all these and some other locations. The college authorities have considerable discretion in developing programmes of this kind, but they constitute only a small proportion of the total work of the college, which is still strongly biased towards apprenticeship block courses and full-time vocational training, in common with other institutions within the technical institute system.

The need for links between all the institutions responsible for post-secondary and continuing education has been emphasized in a number of official statements, and our attention has been drawn to how this is assisted by the operation of a standing committee which brings together representatives of universities, technical institutes, the Vocational Training Board, the teachers colleges and other relevant bodies under the chairmanship of the Director-General.

Co-operation between technical institutes and universities at local level varies in scope and intensity, partly due to geographical factors. Physical propinquity need not, however, imply close co-operation or distance make it impossible. In Southland, for example, the community college acts as a base for some of Otago University's out-reach courses. The University Studies Centre has been formally established on the college campus, and extra-mural students registered with the university are encouraged to select supplementary studies from the college's own programme. Teaching for university awards is undertaken by staff of the college, who maintain close contact with their university equivalents in Dunedin. By this means, some two-thirds of the requirements of a Bachelor of Commerce Degree may be satisfied without students needing to travel to or reside in Dunedin.

This is not the only example of such technical institute/university co-operation, and such arrangements would seem to be a valuable element in maintaining the openness of tertiary opportunities throughout the New Zealand population, and in counteracting any tendency towards raising additional and unnecessary barriers of status and access between institutions of different types.

An expansion in the range and scope of technical institute work is currently forecast and this is the one sector of New Zealand's education system that can expect significant growth in the course of the next decade. Such a development is in line with the diversification of post-secondary education that has gone on in many other countries, and reflects important judgements about the relative costs and benefits of university as against non-university courses and programmes.

It is widely assumed, for example, that non-university programmes cater for students from a wider range of social backgrounds, are more open, and capable of easier adaptation to changing social, technical and economic needs. The unit costs of study in a technical institute are somewhat lower than those at a university ($4 795 as againt $5 945). There is no specific provision for research. Study opportunities can be provided locally for many students, without the necessity of expensive residential accommodation. Courses in the non-university sector can, it is suggested, be more practical in their objectives and content and motivate students towards, rather than away from, subsequent participation in productive economic activity. It is possible to generate links between the work of technical institutes, community colleges and the needs and interests of local industry and commerce, employers' associations and trade unions, community groups and voluntary bodies. The levels of work with which technical institutes and community colleges are concerned are seen as those best calculated to meet skill shortages within the economy, and to reflect the practical application or the new knowledge emerging from universities and specialised research institutes.

For all these reasons (some of which seem to us of doubtful validity), and also because they wish to protect the quality and research potential of universities, which might otherwise be swamped beneath too broad a spread of demand and activity, most developed countries are currently favouring the development of non-university sectors of tertiary provision. In this respect, New Zealand is no exception, but expansion on the scale now contemplated does raise some questions about the status of the awards made by technical institutes which require brief consideration.

In some countries, the rapid growth of non-university courses was due to the inability of the university systems to deliver the right number and type of high-level manpower. At an early stage, therefore, non-university institutions sought some means of having their courses recognised as of university level, and this led to the creation of bodies such as the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) in the United Kingdom, which is charged to validate degrees and diplomas of a standard equivalent to those of the separately chartered universities. The possibility of developing higher level work outside the universities has been considered in New Zealand on several occasions. For example, the then Director-General, Dr. C.E. Beeby, wrote in this 1956 Report:

> "It would be difficult to make a case at present for the establishment of a technological institue in New Zealand, if by that term is understood a college like the Imperial College of Science or Massachusetts Institute of Technology. There is, however, a case for the setting up of a less ambitious type of national college from which a technological institute might arise if the need for it ever became apparent" (quoted in Offenberger, 1979, p. 17).

The position in New Zealand remains different. Much of the now projected growth is in courses of a kind that are not currently offered, and are unlikely in future to be offered by universities. "Group III" courses, which constitute the advanced stages of diploma and certificate programmes, are growing somewhat more rapidly than the lower level courses, and this has caused some of those who are aware of the degree level teaching of British polytechnics and Australian colleges of advanced education again to wonder whether similar developments should take place in New Zealand.

On the basis of a brief and incomplete examination of this issue, we have come to the conclusion that there is still no real case for the development of a "binary" system of degree-awarding institutions in New Zealand similar to that which exists in the United Kingdom or Australia.

The Working Party on Technical and Industrial Academic Awards set up by the Advisory Committee on Educational Planning, which reported in 1971, did not support the establishment of a binary system:

> "The quite dramatic decisions in Australia and in the United Kingdom which led to the establishment of substantial numbers of institutions of higher education more or less competitive with universities were directly influenced by conditions in those countries which do not exist in New Zealand.
>
> It is not the Working Party's opinion that New Zealand should or could realistically embark on a similar programme of rapid dual development" (Offenberger, 1979, p. 21).

The examiners endorse this view. The future balance of work between university and non-university institutions, both now and in the easily foreseeable future, does not appear to justify such a development. Moreover, the academic activities of the two sets of institutions are almost entirely at different levels, and where there is overlap between technical-institute diplomas and the earlier years of university degrees, universities have usually given adequate recognition. We commend these arrangements and would encourage their extension wherever possible. To encourage degree-granting might well distract the technical institutes and community colleges from their concentration on levels of work that are much needed in New Zealand society at the present time.

Success in transforming the industrial base of New Zealand's economy, of a kind that generates a demand for many more high-level courses, requiring full-time study well beyond the level of the present New Zealand Certificate, may well require a response. However, over the next few years there may be a decline in demand for university places on existing courses; opportunities will therefore arise for the universities to develop courses to meet new requirements.

It must in any case be remembered that many students who are successful in technician-level courses at technical institutes or community colleges have opportunities to pursue degree-level work on a full- or part-time basis, and are generally speaking successful in their university studies. The wider use of cross-crediting between universities and technical institutes, and the granting of exemptions from certain university courses for prior study all help to reduce the risk that students at non-university institutions will see themselves engaged in end-stopped programmes, with a consequent loss of institutional status and personal motivation. It will also bind together the two sectors of tertiary education in a complementary relationship rather than force them apart into a competitive stance as has happened in tertiary systems in some other countries. There is the complementary risk that cross-crediting may lead technical institutes and community colleges to model their courses after the perceived or precise requirements of universities, in order to serve those students who aim at academic acceptance. This could erode the rationale of their expansion, aimed at the world of work, and the effective functioning of the individual in the local environment. The process of cross-crediting needs to be monitored in order to avoid such adverse effects.

The Teachers' Colleges

The New Zealand teachers' colleges are part of what is sometimes referred to as the "tertiary sector", but like the technical institutes are administered under the Education Act by the Department of Education, in contrast to the six universities and Lincoln Agricultural College, which have their own Acts of Parliament and are subject to the advice given to government by the University Grants Committee.

At the time of our examination, teachers' colleges had just been notified of very substantial reductions in their student intakes consequent upon revised projections of teacher demand arising from falling rolls and decreases in teacher wastage. One college (Auckland North Shore) was in process of running down prior to closure, and serious consideration was being given to the viability of at least three of the remaining six colleges.

These changes have to be seen against the background of a trebling in teachers' college enrolments between 1956 and 1972. Nonetheless, the effect on the work of individual colleges has been drastic. Questions inevitably arose as to the future of teachers' colleges as a separate group of single-purpose institutions, especially against the possibility that fluctuations in teacher demand will continue due to demographic, economic and other factors, with consequences for student enrolment and staff recruitment and deployment that could be disruptive of standards, provision and morale. We understand, however, that the government has decided to retain all six colleges, with the overall 3 400 student teacher capacity distributed among them. Several of the resulting units will now be very small (3-400 students each) in relation to what has elsewhere been argued as the minimum number necessary to sustain a teacher education programme adequate in variety and in quality.

There has been a trend in many developed countries towards the closer incorporation of teacher-preparing institutions into multi-purpose universities or non-university institutions of higher education. Apart from what have been claimed as the educational and social advantages of such a trend (such as the avoidance of isolation, the benefits of intending teachers having contact with the future members of other professions, the chance to defer choice of teaching until a later and more mature stage than the end of secondary education, the feasibility of a more rapid adjustment of supply to demand, and the possibility of contact with better qualified staff in a broader range of disciplines) there is a gain in flexibility in being able to vary the number of places in a multi-purpose institution devoted to teacher preparation according to fluctuations in teacher demand.

As we have seen, the growth of such demand led to the trebling of the size of teachers' colleges from 1956 to the mid-1970s, and its decline is now producing the need for major contraction. The effects of such stop-go processes on institutional stability, staff morale and quality of programme are serious and if possible to be avoided. It is perhaps this factor which internationally is maintaining the trend towards incorporation of teacher education into multi-purpose institutions, rather than other factors of more doubtful substance. It is argued, for instance, that as far as primary teaching is concerned, the single-purpose college produces a degree of understanding and commitment that is largely responsible for the success of current primary schooling. Whilst the introduction of a wholly graduate entry into the profession might have the effect of raising somewhat the intellectual level of new primary teachers, the kinds of training course they would follow could run the risk, without suitable precautions, of failing to develop the understanding and "feel" for the needs of young children that has been a particular feature of existing training programmes.

It seems clear that in principle there are potential losses as well as gains from a move towards the incorporation of teacher education within university programmes. That several colleges are located on or near the campuses of universities with which they have long had a close association and where many of their students are concurrently pursuing courses towards the fulfilment of degree requirements argues nonetheless for the closest possible association with the universities.

There was a good deal of anxiety among college staffs at the time of our review visit to New Zealand about their status in the event of university mergers. In addition to anxieties about the willingness of universities to appoint members of the former college staffs, and the grades, salaries and conditions of service that would be offered, there was a particular interest in ensuring that teacher education maintained itself as a viable entity within the university structure.

The chief problem here is that of the college subject teaching. Within the existing three-year teacher education programmes, there is in some cases useful integration between subject and professional studies. Students studying, for example, mathematics and English do so in the context of the teaching situation in which such knowledge will be employed. Some subject staff were worried that they might be asked to join the relevant department in the faculties of arts and science of the universities with which association was planned, and that there would therefore no longer be a distinctive group of people responsible for the teaching of concurrent courses of professional preparation. In addition, some of the courses offered in the colleges, such as physical education, music, art and crafts, are not included in university programmes. As in other countries, teachers' college staff are sceptical about the degree of understanding that university academics have of the special needs of teacher education, and of their willingness to apply faculty rules and regulations flexibly and in a manner consistent with the professional objectives of courses.

In many respects, a new pattern of relations between teachers' colleges and universities, including some mergers, could be easier to accomplish in New Zealand than elsewhere. Particularly in the three centres where it was originally proposed that closer association should be introduced, the development of BEd degrees over recent years has given college staff an opportunity to undertake teaching at degree level, and they have been accredited for this purpose by university authorities. In some places two-thirds of the total BEd teaching is the responsibility of college rather than university staff. There would seem to be good prospects of building on these relationships in Otago, Palmerston North and Hamilton.

The cuts in student quotas occurred suddenly. The two chief factors affecting teacher demand are demography and teacher retention rates, the former more easily forecast than the latter, which tend to be influenced by short-run economic circumstances. Reflecting the existence or otherwise of alternative job opportunities to teaching and social habits in relation to the work patterns of married women, staff turnover rates in New Zealand are still comparatively high by international standards. Any further decline could seriously threaten the viability of even the much reduced teacher education capacity which has been left in place. It would seem important that some over-capacity be accepted, if only to ensure that the system is capable of responding to any increase in demand that might manifest itself at a future date. In this connection, in-service training is a fruitful use of any over-capacity. Another would be to offer the surplus capacity to developing nations, or to nations eager to improve their teaching of specific subjects—such as English as a foreign language, or approaches to cross-cultural education.

Generally speaking, we would support the greater involvement of teachers' college staff in in-service education and training (INSET). We do not believe, however, that the scale of additional INSET provision will be such as to compensate for the loss in numbers that teachers' colleges have experienced as a result of reduced quotas consequent upon demographic change, lower wastage rate amongst teachers and other factors.

Professor Clem Hill's Report on teacher education recommended that every teacher should have an entitlement to a certain level of release for in-service purposes, a recommendation in line with that of similar committees in other countries. In the United Kingdom, for example, the James Committee on Teacher Training suggested at the beginning of the 1970s that there should be an initial 3 per cent level of release, rising to 5 per cent as resources became more easily available. More recently, the Auchmuty Committee in Australia has made similar proposals. As things are, restrictions on expenditure have meant that few employing authorities in England have been able to achieve the prescribed target, and the most generous have not got much beyond a release level of about 1.5 per cent. In New Zealand Government has provided for a sum of nearly $4 million in support of in-service training in 1981/82, most of which is used to pay for relief teachers. Many of the teachers and other groups with whom we have spoken feel that this is totally inadequate.

In recent years there has been a move towards more school-based training, and arrangements have been made for "teacher only" days in all schools, on which pupils are excluded and staff engage in professional development activities of various kinds, utilising their own resources and those of the Department's inspectors, teachers' colleges and universities. Although this teacher-only day is not the only form of in-service training available and there are many opportunities for students to pursue part-time university programmes, to take part in residential courses, and to enrol for the Department's own Diploma in Teaching in one of more than 80 subjects, the designation of only one day per year when teachers can get together in school time for professional developments purposes is somewhat less generous than in many other systems. In Sweden, for example, there are 10 such days per annum, 5 each on employers and employee's time. Norway institutionalised as part of its school reform package in the early seventies one week for planning per year, the days and hours of which are dispersed throughout the year and used for intra- as well as inter-school meetings among teachers. We take the view that the scale of school-based INSET could be increased, and this would have a beneficial effect on the work of the teachers, especially those concerned with the education of children with special needs, of minority populations and of the handicapped or working in isolated areas. An increase in the time made available for INSET during the school year might also be reinforced by the provision of special courses during school vacations.

In any event, we feel that successful in-service training requires to be initiated by teachers themselves, and to the extent that teachers' colleges or their successors become involved it should be as providers of resources rather than by way of mounting formal courses. It may be profitable to take another look at the recommendations of Professor Hill's Committee that teachers be given an entitlement on a regular basis to in-service training. Whilst we recognise the cost of implementing such a proposal, we welcome the Department's willingness to examine this issue in greater detail. At a time of declining enrolments and reduced teacher preparation quotas, great importance needs to be attached to improvements in the quantity and quality of induction and INSET provision. In this, we believe that the teachers' associations and the staff of individual schools can and should play a major part, in a way that recognises and reinforces their professionalism and responsibility for their own development.

The declining rolls of the free-standing teachers' colleges may encourage such institutions to diversify their offerings in order to preserve their viability. We have noted that library studies and social welfare courses are now being offered at the Auckland Teachers' College. We do not support diversification on more than the most limited scale. If the amount is small it is hardly relevant to the problems the colleges face. Indeed, it may add to their problems by committing them to courses for which they can afford few specialised staff. If the diversification is significant, problems of overlap between the colleges and universities on the one hand and the colleges and technical institutes on the other will eventually occur—problems from which tertiary education in New Zealand has been comparatively free. The mounting of specialist courses by surplus college staff is also unlikely to provide quality education.

Generally speaking, however, proposals for diversification are modest. We have seen papers prepared for the councils of some of the colleges setting out ways in which the principal and staff feel they might change the direction of their activities in the face of falling rolls. For example, at Christchurch Teachers' College, it is proposed that the base of the college's activities should be broadened mainly in respect of a larger contribution to INSET and induction, by using the college buildings and facilities as a community resource, in courses for people in the community who include elements of teaching or instruction in their work, and by promoting teacher-related research, publications and curriculum development. Such activities would all seem to be within the range of competence of the staff of such institutions, and not embody ambitions for high-level work in non education related fields that would blur the present distinctions between universities and other tertiary institutions.

Study allowances paid to teachers were at the time of our examination on a more generous scale than those for other students, and there was a complex set of arrangements for paying somewhat different amounts according to the kind of course that the future teacher was following. All tertiary students, including those enrolled at teachers' colleges, have now been placed on the same scales of assistance. The patterns of training are classified as *Division A*, which is the normal three-year programme for primary teachers in teachers' colleges (associated for suitably qualified teachers with university and college-bound studies for a BEd degree); *Division B*, in which secondary teachers pursue concurrent teachers' college and university or technical institute programmes which include courses for Home Economics and Commercial and Technical teachers. *Division E*, a two-year kindergarten teacher course; and *Division U*, in which study towards a degree in a university is followed by a one-year professional training in a secondary teachers' college. There are also Divisions A2 and B2, where students come into teacher training after having acquired a number of university credits and pursue a shortened programme of training. Within each of these patterns, student teachers are registered as *employees*, and can be included in the Government Superannuation Scheme.

Although the principal purposes of generous financial entitlements for potential teachers has in the past been to ensure an adequate supply, it may also have had the effect of encouraging a larger proportion of young men and women from less favoured socio-economic groups to enter tertiary education. We would not be surprised to find a better representation of the lower socio-economic groups among teachers' college students than, say, in universities. There is now perhaps not the same need to provide financial inducements for entry into teaching. This being so, the high level of resources that have hitherto been devoted to this aspect of tertiary support no longer seems justified, especially in view of expenditure constraints and the need to use the available money in the most cost-effective way. The removal of favoured treatment for intending teachers may well have some effect on the social composition of entrants to the profession. It may also have a serious effect on recruitment, especially against a background of actual or potential teacher unemployment. It has been the experience in other countries where cut-backs have taken place in teacher education that post-secondary opportunities for women and for working-class students generally have been significantly diminished.

This may not be a consideration of such overriding importance as to justify retention of special support for intending teachers. It is, however, a factor that, in relation to our order of reference concerning the openness and comprehensiveness of post-secondary opportunities, needs carefully to be taken into account by Government in evaluating the outcome of recent decisions. If resources were less constrained, and equity issues of high priority, it could be suggested that *all* forms of tertiary support should be increased to the level of that for intending teachers; this does not, however, seem realistic in present circumstances.

Universities

There are in New Zealand six universities and one university college funded through the University Grants Committee—the Universities of Auckland, Waikato, Canterbury and Otago, Massey University at Palmerston North, the Victoria University of Wellington, and Lincoln College at Christchurch. These institutions enrolled in 1980 32 100 full-time and more than 13 100 part-time internal students, and 8 900 extra-mural students, all working for university-level degrees and diplomas. Of the extra-mural students, nearly 8 000 students were enrolled for correspondence-based programmes offered through Massey University on a national basis.

This high proportion of part-time and external students is a special feature of the New Zealand university system. It is of long standing. For some years after the dis-establishment of the former University of New Zealand in 1961, there were feelings that such a high part-time enrolment was inconsistent with the purposes of university-level work, and out of line with what was regarded as appropriate in other countries. More recently, the development and legitimation of the idea of lifelong, recurrent and "permanent" education have thrown a new light on the New Zealand pattern, which now can be seen to have many features that other countries are in various ways attempting to create for themselves. In this sense, the link between university study and working life has for a long time tended to be closer in New Zealand than in some other OECD countries.

Many students carry on their studies at the same time as holding down a regular full- or part-time job. The system of tertiary study support assumes that students will obtain some kind of vacation employment, which will help to support them during the remainder of the year. Lower levels of employment may affect the employment/studies combination in several ways:

- with fewer jobs available, fewer students will be able to finance their studies;
- students may keep jobs for fear of losing an employment opportunity, even if it has negative implications for their studies;
- study may be a substitute for employment;
- the non-employed may perceive students as taking "their" jobs.

These effects have implications for the number of students, study time, the labour market and community relations.

We have already observed that there is comparatively little overlap between the work of university and non-university institutions in New Zealand. The technical institutes, polytechnics and community colleges are for the most part concerned with levels of training and education which universities do not undertake. This stands in marked contrast to some other OECD countries, such as Australia and Britain, which have a "binary" system in which non-university polytechnics and colleges offer degree-level studies parallel in standard to those of universities. Such overlap needs careful co-ordination if excess provision and waste is to be avoided. Although there are one or two points at which university and technical institute interests might conflict—for example, the courses in valuation that Lincoln College offers within the Canterbury degree, and the wish of the Christchurch Polytechnic to run programmes in this subject—New Zealand has for the most part avoided the difficulties to which parallel university and non-university provision gives rise.

Within the university system itself there is again a fairly high degree of rationalisation. Only two universities have medical faculties. The same is true for engineering. Whereas in some countries the autonomy of universities has enabled them to proliferate new degrees of a kind that may already exist elsewhere within the system, this is made more difficult in New Zealand by the existence of the Curriculum Committee of the UGC, to which all new proposals go. This does not deal completely with the problem of duplication, since it is sometimes possible for a university to devise a new option within an existing degree, which then comes to take on a life of its own and generates staffing needs that are little different from those required for an altogether new degree.

Universities in New Zealand have traditionally been "open entry" across nearly all but a few professional faculties. Any student who has obtained a satisfactory pass at UE, and who can pay the modest levels of fees, is admitted. The principle of open entry was easier to sustain in a period of burgeoning resources than at present, when Government has agreed to provide only half the staffing funds that would otherwise be justified by increases in student numbers above the base line. This inevitably produces a declining unit of resource. Student/staff ratios (SSR) in some subjects are very unfavourable. We were quoted examples of departments that had a nominal SSR of 32:1, and we understand that this is by no means unusual in non-laboratory-based subjects. In other countries such a trend has given rise to anxieties about the ability of universities to maintain the standards of their degrees. Furthermore, to maintain open entry in these conditions invites the political response that what is possible in some subjects is surely possible in all, and this, in conditions of financial exigency, might produce a further decline in unit of resource.

Faced with these problems, universities are beginning to limit admissions to certain faculties. Overall university rolls are still increasing, and are expected to do so up to the end of the decade, with expansion focused principally on Auckland and Massey Universities. In Auckland this is a response to demographic trends and geographical mobility; at Massey it arises from the particular faculty mix of that university and its importance as a centre for extra-mural provision.

Any university system that is based upon principles of open entry but faces financial constraint has to choose between a diminishing unit of resource, with its possible implications for standards, the ability to perform research, and reputation, and on the other hand, the possibility that if student aspirations are unsatisfied, there will be a greater demand for university-level courses to be mounted and offered elsewhere. Given that the level of student support in New Zealand has not increased parallel to inflation, the demand for university courses may in the aggregate be contained within existing and likely future university capacity. "Open entry" may of course in this situation be formal rather than real, with many potential students unable for economic reasons to enter universities. There will, however, as we have noted, be particular problems in respect of faculties where demand is high and there is insistence upon the maintenance of open entry conditions. Demand for university places is not simply a function of demography, but is also affected by the economic climate, perceptions of job opportunities, levels of student support, tacit or explicit official support for university study or the lack of it, and the existence of alternative opportunities elsewhere.

At the present time, university students constitute some two-thirds of the 19-year-olds who are engaged in full-time study on courses of more than six months in duration, and the total of such students in New Zealand constitutes 14.7 per cent of the total population in this age group. These figures are comparable to those for some other OECD countries, but how such a figure relates to the optimal percentage that should be receiving university-level teaching in relation to the manpower and developmental needs of the economy is in New Zealand, as elsewhere, a somewhat arbitrary calculation.

Although in terms of unit cost universities in New Zealand are somewhat less expensive than elsewhere (principally due to high student/staff ratios in some subjects), they compare less favourably in cost terms when the proportion of students who complete degrees in minimum time is taken into account. For example, in 1980 out of a total of 5 981 students graduating, only 3 262 completed in minimum time, 1 583 took an extra year, 542 two extra years, and 631 required more than two years. It should be noted that 40 per cent of New Zealand university students attend as part-time students. Another 1 082 students graduated with post-graduate degrees. While "minimum completion" makes planning easier for universities, it is not necessarily desirable from the point of view of students or a society which emphasizes "lifelong learning" and "open entry". In particular, women, whose family roles frequently interfere negatively with their studies, need more than minimum time. The same holds for those whose employment must take time from studies. Negative sanctions against those who cannot complete in minimum time would conflict with these broader goals of educational policy.

Such figures need to be looked at in relation to failure and drop-out rates at earlier stages of the course. These tend to be fairly high, especially at the end of the first year. It has been emphasized to us, however, that many students initially register without the intention of completing the full programme of courses and units requisite for a degree. They wish to acquire particular skills or knowledge embodied in the units and courses for which they are enrolled, and leave the university on completion of their own programme. They may later use the credits thus acquired in order to complete a full-degree course, and this is reflected in both the substantial number of older students who are registered in New Zealand universities, and in the part-time registrations among these age groups.

Open entry, the possibility of cross-crediting between university and non-university institutions, credit transfer within the university system, part-time enrolment opportunities and a tendency for the average age of students to rise, are all indications of a university system that in structure and intention is both open and comprehensive. Such a conclusion must, however, be qualified by the skewed socio-economic distribution of students, the fact that a substantial measure of self-selection takes place in the upper levels of the secondary school, and the absence of mechanisms for student support that obviate the need for parental supplementation or part-time employment.

Since the mid-1970s participation rates in New Zealand universities have changed very little. Pool, Ramsey and O'Neill (1981) have estimated that the proportion of males from the 15-19 age group enrolled as internal students was the same in 1980 as in 1973, and the proportion of females from the same age group increased only 0.1 per cent. In the 20-24 age group the increases were in the order of 1.1 per cent for males and 1.7 per cent for females.

As elsewhere, the reasons for these trends are complex. The employment prospects for graduates in New Zealand, despite higher overall rates of unemployment, generally remain good. Most of those who seek to enter employment direct from university (some 54 per cent of the total) seem to find acceptable opportunities within a few months of graduating. About a quarter of graduates continue their full-time education, a figure that now seems reasonably stable after a quite substantial fall in 1978. There may have been a tendency for the ratio of graduate to non-graduate earnings to deteriorate, reducing the individual rate of return of continued study. Student allowances are insufficient without parental supplementation or vacation earnings, and the ease of obtaining both may have diminished somewhat as a result of recession. The proportion of students who attend part-time has recently shown an increase, especially among females. Taken overall, both the cash costs and the opportunity costs of university study may have increased, and the benefits of such study are today less obvious than once they were.

Information on the socio-economic status of New Zealand students is sparse. Most researchers use the scale devised by Elley and Irving on the basis of census occupation groupings. Generally speaking, only small samples have been employed in the work so far done on this topic. Pool *et al* (1981) cited work by Parkyn in the mid-1960s, by Thompson in 1972, Wainwright in 1977 (who in turn quotes unpublished studies by Locke in 1973 and 1975) and by Jones from 1976. Despite the methodological and conceptual problems in the way of comparison between the findings of these studies, there is a clear indication that, as in other countries, students from professional, administrative and managerial occupations are significantly over-represented and those from manual backgrounds under-represented among university students. The proportions from the Elley/Irving levels 1 and 2 are generally in excess of 60 per cent, whilst those from manual backgrounds are in the order of 15 per cent.

A study undertaken by Dr. Jones showed that students entering Auckland University in 1978 from SES Group 1 (the highest) constituted 30 per cent of the total enrolment, but only 5 per cent of New Zealand's population as a whole. At the other end of the scale, whilst 12 per cent of the total population are in SES Group 6, only 4 per cent of university entrants were drawn from this group. Members of SES Group 1 were more than seven times over-represented and those in SES Group 2, more than two and a half times over-represented. SES Groups 3, 4, 5 and 6 were all heavily under-represented. These figures, and others provided by Dr. Jones on the socio-economic status of students in other universities, are similar to those which can be found in other countries, such as the United Kingdom.

Systematic data on the family socio-economic level of students entering teachers' colleges does not seem to be available, but we have seen the outcomes of a useful study undertaken by Mr. G.H. Robinson, of Dunedin Teachers' College, based upon the 1975 intake to that college. Using the Elley and Irving scales, Robinson found that whereas 5 per cent of the New Zealand population as a whole are in SES level 1, 23 per cent of the Dunedin students came from such families. Nineteen per cent of New Zealand and Otago families are from SES level 2, and 25 per cent of Dunedin students. Level 3 families are still over-represented in this student population, but levels 4, 5 and 6 where substantially under-represented, particularly level 5, which constitutes 20 per cent of the New Zealand population as a whole (23 per cent of those living in Otago), but only 10 per cent of the Dunedin 1975 intake. We recognise that these figures apply to only one college and are now several years old. It will be important to monitor any changes brought about by the abolition of the higher rates of student-teacher allowances.

We have not seen comparable data for technical institute students and for adults pursuing part-time courses. We would expect that the proportion of the lower socio-economic groups among such populations would be higher.

New Zealand policy-makers may or may not be concerned about figures of this kind. The fact that minority groups are strongly represented among the lower socio-economic classifications may perhaps lend a greater urgency to the problem than might otherwise be the case. At least among the *pakeha* members of the groups that we have met, there seems a reluctance to accept that New Zealand is a class society. There is a strong ideological commitment to equality, to a rather flat income distribution and to the use of fiscal measures to control the accumulation and inheritance of wealth. Yet we are doubtful if the social composition of students in upper secondary education, or of those enrolled in non-university full-time study, differs greatly from student populations in Australia and the

United Kingdom. It seems clear from evidence based on research in these countries and in the United States that generous tertiary education support, and the existence of an open system of secondary opportunities, does not in itself guarantee much as far as a broadly based social mix of full-time students is concerned. If the achievement of such a mix is a high policy priority, action to achieve it needs to be taken lower down in the education system as part of a systematic youth policy.

There has been a great deal of discussion in Australia and in the United Kingdom about non-selective schemes for the support of upper secondary school students, of a kind that would encourage improved retention among lower socio-economic groups, and that would be related in amount to the level of unemployment benefits. Unfortunately, the costs of such a policy are high. It is necessarily less selective in its operation than the provision of tertiary supports grants. Some of those who are its beneficiaries fail to pursue post-secondary study, and thus in relation to the criteria that have hitherto been used for distribution of tertiary support, such expenditure is "wasted". Moreover, the expense of such schemes, the political problems associated with systematic means-testing, and the necessity to make such allowances available, not only to those who would not otherwise have remained in school or a college, but to all, have so far prevented the implementation of a programme on which judgements can be made and recommendations based. We must, however, record our view that the existing openness of access to tertiary study, including that to university, and the existence of long-standing schemes for student support will not in themselves ensure that tertiary education in New Zealand is open to the talents, irrespective of social class, sex, or ethnic origin, in the way that current ideologies may suggest and policies for effective social integration and harmony may require.

We recognise that this conclusion may not be welcome. However, nothing is to be gained from refusing to face the difficulties that stand before any attempt to erect a genuinely open and comprehensive system of tertiary provision. Few countries have yet succeeded in this respect. New Zealand's commitment and efforts have been greater than most.

The reports of the Review Committee set up by the UGC concerning academic staffing, research, libraries, computer education and engineering were all available to us; further reports on social work and management have been commissioned and will appear shortly. A final report on the work of the Review Committee will also be published. The work done in the preparation of these statements has manifestly been of value in highlighting some of the problems that face New Zealand universities, and they contain some valuable recommendations. They have been prepared, however, without direct reference to the resource position that may face universities in the years ahead, and when fuller information is available it may be necessary for the UGC to adopt a somewhat more directive stance if the universities are to adapt effectively to the constraints on resources that they seem likely to face.

The absence of new resources becoming available as a result of growth or qualitative improvements in funding poses several problems for universities. In terms of human resources, recruitment of new academic staff is slowed down and, especially in those subjects which have shown a rapid but uneven pattern of growth in earlier periods, average ages begin to increase. The problems to which this gives rise are compounded by reduced turnover, diminished promotion prospects and an inability to attract high-quality academics from elsewhere on short-term fellowships. Libraries are unable to keep pace with the continued output of print and non-print materials from the international academic community. Equipment is not replaced—the UGC Review Committee estimated that, in 1973, some 70 to 80 per cent of engineering equipment at the University of Canterbury was more than five years old, and by 1978 this had risen to 80-90 per cent, with almost 60 per cent over ten years old. Students trained with such equipment may not be as well prepared as they might be to contribute to the diversification and greater efficiency of New Zealand's industrial base.

If quality of teaching and research is to be maintained, and flexibility to cope with resource constraint and stable or contracting numbers enhanced, systematic planning is needed in order to prevent savings been sought from politically less sensitive but academically damaging areas such as library and support expenditure, and to permit less popular decisions that alone can protect standards and institutional reputations. Early retirement schemes, rationalisation of courses and programmes, selectivity in respect of research expenditure, are all among the means that have had to be adopted in many countries in the face of such problems. *New Zealand's universities serve the manpower and knowledge needs of most* areas of New Zealand's economy and society—employment surveys show graduates entering no fewer than 82 different employment sectors in a single year—and in ways that are not always fully appreciated by some taxpayers and politicians. So far, it has been possible to maintain open entry in most faculties, but whether this can be sustained in the face of any further diminution of resources without producing unacceptable staff/student ratios and undesirable consequences for research quality and output seems doubtful. Any tendency to reduce university funding as a means of making additional resources available for the development of the technical institutes seems to us to be mistaken. The relative unit costs of the two kinds of institution are not so different as to suggest that substantially greater productivity could be achieved in this way. To restrict university funding would incur costs in terms of individual opportunities, research and advanced study potential, and international competitiveness, the effects of which might take some time to manifest themselves, but which nonetheless would be damaging.

VII

ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

For a country with such a small population New Zealand offers a rich array of learning opportunities for adults and participation rates in evening, weekend and, increasingly, day-time courses are high by comparison with most OECD countries. A long tradition of providing non-vocational and non-formal education is sustained by a large and varied number of voluntary agencies, prominent among which is the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). More recently, there has been a considerable expansion of formal and vocational provision under the aegis of the education and manpower authorities and other public departments. The concepts of lifelong learning and recurrent education have become generally familiar but there is no intention to restructure the post-school system in order to reflect them in practice. Plurality of provision is viewed as good in itself[1].

As we have already indicated, New Zealand offers generous opportunities for adults to pursue their formal education at the university level. Opportunities to study at the secondary level which, from an egalitarian point of view, may be considered even more important, have become no less generous. The Correspondence School serves the needs of approximately 12 000 adults. Large numbers of adults attend evening classes organised by the schools, technical institutes and community colleges. In addition, as recorded in the background report, 3 000 adults at some 200 schools were attending regular day-time classes in the schools during the year 1981. To judge from the trend that rate of enrolment will sharply increase over the next few years.

Elsewhere we have discussed the important contribution that adult students can bring to the learning and social environment in the schools. We must also draw attention to the beginnings of a community education movement in New Zealand. In addition to the many schools that already offer various facilities for adults both during the day-time and outside normal school hours, 11 schools have been designated community learning centres. Their aim is to take the school into the community and to bring the community into the school. They are given a limited earmarked grant from central funds for appointing extra staff and initiating experiments. As far as we could ascertain, the impact of their activities is out of all proportion to the smallness of the additional financial outlay. Their buildings are intensively used; they provide many services, including crèches, for the children of adults attending schools; they harness the overall learning resources of the surrounding community. In our view, the community education approach has undoubted value and merits increasing logistical support.

We visited one inner city school where the proportion of adults on the premises at any one time during the day exceeded that of pupils of normal school

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[1] For a recent comprehensive survey of adult education in New Zealand, see R. Boshier ed. *Towards a Learning Society*, Vancouver, 1980.

70

age. The school was demonstrably meeting a genuine demand. It was also demonstrable that a dynamic principal had picked up the gauntlet of falling enrolments by creating new roles for the school and vigorously recruiting adult students. We see virtue in such adaptability, especially as so many of the adult students were unemployed or underemployed and had very real, practical learning needs. All schools should perhaps be encouraged to respond to adversity with similar faith and ingenuity.

The work of the schools in adult and community education is complemented by that of the technical institutes and community colleges, whose activities are described elsewhere, and by the extra-mural or extension services of the universities and a few teacher training colleges. Altogether the public contribution is now substantial and seems bound to increase. Nevertheless, despite the parallel efforts of numerous voluntary agencies, New Zealand, like nearly all countries, finds it exceedingly difficult to serve that significant minority of adults who are arguably most in need of assistance, namely, those who left school as early as possible with minimal qualifications.

The experience of other countries shows that New Zealand has adopted the best strategy for dealing with this minority by disaggregating it into groups with specific learning needs. Thus, there are general purpose programmes for Maoris and Pacific Islanders; English language courses for recent immigrants from outside the Anglo-Saxon countries; an Adult Reading Assistance programme for poor readers; a WEA literacy programme for the functionally illiterate; special activities for those living in isolated areas under the Rural Education Activities Programme; courses for single parents, mainly women, and for women wishing to return to work after bringing up their families. Such programmes are serving a vital social and economic need. Provided their growth is not restricted by financial cuts, they will go far to reduce the size of the undereducated minority in the community.

Since 1963 the National Council for Adult Education has apparently played a useful role in identifying adult learning needs, collecting, collating and distributing information and, above all, harmonizing the activities of the statutory and non-statutory bodies. We understand, however, that the government subvention to the Council is about to be significantly reduced. Though we think that New Zealand may be right to be wary of administrative super-structures, it is to be hoped that the National Council will be able to continue to perform its key functions.

71

VIII

EDUCATION FOR WORKING LIFE

Some General Considerations

While the policies of many OECD countries are now clearly directed towards bridging gaps between education and work, towards modifying individual consciousness of the differences between them, towards making schooling more "relevant" to adult life, and the experience of working environments "educative" rather than alienating and degrading, the *conceptual* and *organisational* apparatus with which we conduct discourse about education and work still emphasizes the separation of the two spheres.

Despite these problems, boundaries between education and work *are* being eroded. Most existing educational provision—primary, secondary, and tertiary—falls within the welfare function of governments and is financed through the tax system. But there is also in nearly all countries a "private" sector, both general and vocational, which is subject to the market. On the other side, whilst most job opportunities in democratic capitalist societies arise from the operation of the labour market, there is a growing sphere of welfare-generated employment supported through the tax system.

There are other ways in which education and work are coming closer together. In some systems, certain courses of higher education are organised on the "sandwich" principle, with a period of paid employment seen as an integral part of the educational programme. In some places, legislation has been enacted to establish the right of workers to paid educational leave. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, elements of work exploration are being introduced into secondary education. All this argues for closer relations between those aspects of individual biography hitherto labelled "education" and those labelled "work". It also suggests that years of formal schooling should be seen not only as of value in their own right, as both general, and in some cases specific, vocational preparation, but also in terms of how the individual is equipped to function as citizen, partner and parent, as inheritor of and contributor to a culture that embodies language, characteristic life styles, the capacity to respond to and care for the natural environment, and experience of the arts. The fact that productive roles in the work force, the performance of family responsibilities, and behaviour as a member of a neighbourhood, a community and a society, can be and usually are treated separately for purposes of analysis and discussion, tends to conceal the way in which all these roles overlap and interweave with each other in the every-day experience and life histories of individuals.

In talking about the part that education can play as a preparation for adult life, we are not limiting ourselves to vocational training or political and social education or the skills needed for life in the community or the carrying out of citizen responsibilities. We believe that an effective education for adult life will serve all these purposes, and will recognise that the attitudes, dispositions, knowledge and skills that an individual develops and acquires affect his or her behaviour across the whole spectrum of life's activities, whether on farm or in factory, in the home and the neighbourhood, in professional associations, trade unions, or in the vast range of voluntary associations that characterise social life in open, democratic societies. So we are not disposed to see education for adult life as implying a narrow focus upon work skills at the expense of general education, nor in terms of some kind of conflict between what is appropriate for the individual as a person and the individual as productive contributor to the work force.

All this said, there is undoubtedly a concentration of attention today on the way in which schools, colleges and universities can help to educate men and women in ways that enable them to obtain satisfactory employment and to make useful contributions to the national product. It would be wrong for us to ignore the fact that there are quite sharp differences among economists and educators about the kinds of educational experience best calculated to serve this end. For example, Professor Jochimsem has argued: "... basically we are convinced that a carpenter journey-man is better off on the labour market, even if there is a surplus of carpenters, than if he were unskilled". In other words, almost any skill is better than no skill[1]. Against this, Professor C.A. Anderson (1977) has stated:

> "... I would today defend the unduly simplified assertion that I wrote in 1967: "it is not necessarily true that training in one skill is always better than no specialised training at all... Effective utilisation of school graduates contributes more to productivity than does fine-tuned training. As one can say generally about the benefits from schools to a society, outcomes depend more on how society makes use of its educated youth than upon wise choice of content in their lessons."[2]

There is no conceivable way in which an education system can deliver the exact mix of skills and competencies of the right kind and in the necessary quantities to meet the needs of economic and labour market systems that are not only essentially unpredictable, but which are almost certain to change out of all recognition in the course of a single individual's working life. To be able to do so would imply a capacity to predict economic conditions and technological change in a way quite beyond human reach.

Manpower planning may be reasonably effective in relation to clearly defined occupations for which there is a one-to-one relationship between the educational qualification and the occupation (e.g. medicine) or to which labour market considerations do not generally apply, and where selection, recruitment, training and deployment are all under the control of a single agency (e.g. teaching). These conditions can only be met in a small number of occupations. A large proportion of the future labour force will need to be actually or potentially mobile in respect, not only of jobs within the same industry or trade, but also across skill and occupation boundaries, and into areas of employment and work as yet unimagined. Most people with formal qualifications, whether at university or technical (including trade) level, enter occupations not directly related to their qualifications, and many undertake a number of jobs, not closely related, over their working lives. This suggests that all post-school education, however vocational, should be broadly based. Thus, the modes of organisation, and organisational

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1. R. Jochimsen, "Aims and Objectives of German Vocational and Professional Education in the Present European Context", in Hornsey A. (ed.), *Education and Working Life*. Report of an Anglo-German Conference held at the University of London Institute of Education London, 1978 (mimeo).

2. C.A. Anderson, "What is wrong with trying to program 'skills' packages for Career Education", in Heyneman S.P. (ed.), *Six Views of Three Lives*. Symposium sponsored by Federal Interagency Panel for Research and Adolescence, 1977 (mimeo).

innovation within schools are important in educating for the future. Increased cross-subject teaching and project-based learning are particularly relevant approaches.

Given that job search and placement are part of a market structure, rather than something that can be consciously and deliberately planned in respect of each individual, it is likely that such flexibility will be associated with a greater number of disjunctions, in which individuals will find themselves for shorter or longer periods of time without specific employment. Education for adult life that helps individuals to cope with these disjunctions is *not*, as is sometimes implied, "education for unemployment".

It is as this point that we should seek some reconciliation between views such as those of Professors Jochimsem and Anderson quoted above. There is a sense in which both are right. It is not training as a carpenter *as such* that introduces inflexibility or which helps the individual to obtain an alternative placement in the labour market. It is the *kind of training* that the carpenter undergoes, the extent to which the curriculum, the pedagogy and the methods of assessement used in becoming a carpenter do or do not develop those features of an individual's capacity and skill that apply to more than one trade or industry and which permit him or her to acquire with greater facility the skills and knowledge specific to other occupations. It is possible to be trained as a carpenter in a narrow way. It is equally possible for a carpenter to be liberally educated, not by following "liberal arts" courses tacked on to specific skill training, but in the very way in which the skills themselves are taught and learned, the base upon which skills are built, the context in which they are placed, the extent to which the individual is helped to understand skill development, and to recognise what he or she contributes to such learning and what is gained from it.

More than one educator has emphasized that a liberal education can be obtained through any subject, provided that it is well taught by people who are not themselves narrow specialists, but who have a broadly based understanding of the nature and purpose of the form of training for which they are responsible.

In these terms, the traditional apprenticeship, whilst offering at its best a graduated process of socialisation into the ethos and values of a trade, as well as means of acquiring its specific skills, is not always satisfactory. Alternative forms of skill training are being developed. The examiners were shown a model of industrial training that sought to produce skilled tradesmen in 450 hours of intensive practice and instruction, as against the 9 000 hours of a traditional apprenticeship. We can see that such laboratory-generated methods, modularised and with careful and systematic feedback and evaluation, can well be effective across a fairly narrow band of skills. Furthermore, the scale of the investment in an individual trainee is such as to justify employers accepting the costs of a period of non-productivity, as the price of a suitably developed range of skills which can subsequently be employed for a shorter or longer period. Should employment patterns change, individuals would no doubt consider it worthwhile to acquire another skill by a similar technique, and thus to become multi-skilled and therefore more flexible in relation to changing demands in the job market. All these are gains. Some forms of such training, however, are so instrumental in purpose and mechanical in function that exposure to them may positively inhibit an individual's capacity to respond to other forms of education based on a more liberal model. Moreover, they do not provide a broad base on which to build skills for a range of occupations.

Perhaps intensive skill development *does* have positive spin-off effects in other directions. Perhaps workers are happy to accept a complete disjunction between the style and values of their working environments and those of their leisure pursuits, high earnings in the one making possible a wider range of choices in the other. Moreover, we have to recognise that many forms of contemporary employment *are* boring, repetitive, and make no demands upon an individual's strength and capacities. However, we do not apologise for our view that this is a state of affairs which should not be accepted without protest. Where levels of satisfaction are low, where supervision is arbitrary, and where there is little opportunity for an individual to make an impact on the nature of the task performed, industrial relations tend to be poor, stoppages to be frequent, and productivity to be low. This may not be true in all societies, it is certainly so in those, such as New Zealand, which place a high value on personal autonomy and life satisfaction.

It follows that the modes of training we employ should be such as to enhance rather than diminish the possibility of individuals influencing the nature of the work processes in which they are engaged. It also follows that the use of modular training should be based on a firm foundation of education, which, however vocational in its intent and content, should widen rather than narrow the options or modular additions.

Neither traditional apprenticeship, nor intensively programmed skill training, can satisfy our criteria of effectiveness. These include the use of methods that will enhance the generalisability of a person's skills; that will develop dispositions and attitudes favourable to the necessity of personal and occupational mobility; that will enhance, rather than inhibit, the posibility of the individual being motivated to apply worthwile innovations within the performance of a task, rather than passively accepting what may be an unproductive set of practices; and finally, the use of curricular, pedagogy and modes of assessment that recognise and strengthen the individual's capacity to cope with frequently unpredictable social, economic and technological change.

We have outlined our general views on the nature of education for adult life at some length, in order to make clear the assumptions with which we approach some of the more specific questions to which we have addressed ourselves in the course of our examination. These include the future of apprenticeship; the place of pre-apprenticeship courses in technical institutes and community colleges; the balance of college-based and work-based learning and instruction other than for apprenticeship; the scale of, and responsibility for, non-vocational provision at a local and regional level; the simplification of the present procedures for the approval of new courses and programmes in tertiary education; and the introduction of an appropriate youth policy, involving a reappraisal of the existing pattern of transfer payments.

Guidance and Counselling

An important element in the preparation of the individual for adult life is the quality of advice he or she receives on choice of occupation and entry to employment. It is apparent from the description provided in the report of the working party, *Guidance in Secondary Schools*, that a great deal of development has taken place in the provision of guidance and vocational advice since the establishment in 1948 of regulations which provided for the appointment of career advisers in all state secondary schools with rolls in excess of 200, and the parallel setting up of the Department of Education's psychological service. The report of the working party provides full details of how in the following twenty years a service grew up which by 1971 had in place some 265 careers advisers and nearly 70 guidance counsellors attached to one or more schools.

Small (1976) has indicated the change in philosophy that took place over this period:

> "Beginning (in 1960) as a modest amendment to the traditional organisation, guidance was clearly regarded as a remedial service for pupils in difficulty. By about 1970, guidance was being given the additional justification of offering positive assistance to all pupils, and needing the co-operation of all staff. By 1975, teachers had become more conscious of their guidance responsibilities, and it was evident that guidance specialists could not, by themselves, supply a positive programme to all pupils."[3] (p. 219).

During the seventies it became apparent that the vocational guidance element in the work of these guidance counsellors was assuming even greater importance, and there was a need to relate their work to that of the job placement service provided by the Deparment of Labour. The decision was taken in 1978 to transfer the Vocational Guidance Service of the Department of Education to the Department of Labour, and amalgamate it with the range of services provided by that department. There is now a full-time guidance counsellor on the roll of every school with more than 400 students, and the number of such positions has increased from 65 in 1973 to 256 at the time of the review. These appointments are all additional to normal staffing entitlements. There is part-time provision made in smaller schools.

During the seventies additional provision has been made for special interest groups, and staff designated to work with Pacific Island and Maori people. The needs of the handicapped have also been more clearly recognised.

Increases in unemployment, especially among less well qualified youth, have given a particular focus to the work of the guidance services, and there seemed to us to be no shortage of effort or interest in this aspect of the work of the schools. Over the years it has been the subject of several deparmental working parties reports and surveys[4]. These and other documents that we have seen reflect up-to-date thinking on the subjects of career education and vocational guidance, and although we have not been able to study in any detail the way in which the concepts and schemes set out in such documents are applied in schools, we have formed the impression that there is no lack of ideas about what needs to be done, and that appropriate mechanisms exist to meet current and likely future needs. In fact, in New Zealand as in some other countries, this seems to be a highly conceptualised field of activity, there being no shortage of development theories (sometimes competing), procedural flow-charts, time-sequence schemes and other well-structured advice on how careers education and guidance might proceed.

We believe it is important that the attention given to these matters should be sustained and supported by adequate resources. In some countries, career education and vocational guidance have been given priority over other needs in the face of cuts in the funds available to education. This is in large part because of the necessity of ensuring that when jobs are short, the market mechanims of job search and placement are kept well lubricated, and no opportunities are lost to utilise such placement possibilities as exist, and to ensure that young people do not make premature or unwise decisions in the face of restricted employment opportunities.

Not all those teachers and principals with whom we talked are entirely convinced of the wisdom of appointing full-time guidance staff in schools, believing that the exercise of guidance functions is a responsibility of every teacher who has contact with young people. It is certainly true that the appointment of a specialist in a field such as guidance does not in any way remove the necessity for each teacher to make this his or her contributions to the total guidance service that the school provides.

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[3] Small, J.J., *Guidance: retrospect and prospect in directions in New Zealand secondary education*, John A. Codd and Gary L. Hermansson (eds.) Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland, 1976.

[4] Such as *Career Education in Secondary Schools: a report on the 1979 Survey*, Department of Education, Wellington, 1981; *Guidelines for Career Education in Secondary Schools* (mimeo), May 1979; *Summary of Special Education and Guidance Services in New Zealand*, Education Services Section, Department of Education, Wellington, July 1980.

Whilst the attention we were able to give to this topic was insufficient for us to be able to make judgements about any existing aspects which require priority attention, we are aware of research overseas which suggests that significant career decisions are often taken well before a student reaches the upper years of secondary education, and that adequate provision needs to be made for advice at an appropriate stage. This would indicate that in a system where secondary education does not begin until 13, guidance at the intermediate school stage should receive due attention. This may be especially important for girls. In New Zealand, as in most OECD countries, the range of occupational choice by girls is narrow, conventional, and poorly related to the employment opportunities of the future. Greater efforts are needed to reduce the sex stereotyping behind their choices and opportunities. The target of such efforts must include the girls' environment: families, schools, labour market authorities, employers and the mass media. Girls alone can do relatively little to change their situation.

It is also important for teachers and guidance personnel to have adequate knowledge and experience of the kinds of employment to which many of their pupils will go on leaving school. It was suggested to us that it is lack of such knowledge that reinforces an excessively academic orientation in the secondary schools. Work experience is relevant for teachers as well as for students. This is helped by the recruitment to teaching of mature men and women who have previously followed careers in industry and commerce, but at a time when the scale of training is being reduced, this is unlikely completely to meet the need. In-service training programmes for teachers should provide for periods of attachment to private and public enterprises outside the world of formal education, and also for courses and seminars which offer up-to-date and unbiased information about occupational requirements and working conditions across a broad spectrum of industries and activities.

It was pointed out to us that retraining or increased emphasis on work experience could have the side effect of preventing the re-entry or permanent employment of women teachers, who for family reasons find it difficult to attend additional courses or to hold other jobs. We are aware of this factor, but believe solutions can be found that will not exclude women. It is not unreasonable to consider their work in the family or their voluntary work as educationally relevant, valuable as inputs in their teaching, and a basis for realistic communication with other parents. But it would be useful for the women teachers themselves, as well as for their functioning as role models, to be able to draw on a wider range of work experience. Much can be gained through short-term employment, work exploration or field work. It is the quality of such experience, and its realistic character rather than its length, that are important inputs in educational practice.

Employment and Training

We have said something in the first part of this chapter about the conceptual and institutional problems that arise in discussing relations between education and work. These are by no means irrelevant to the way in which education and training have developed in New Zealand. The Director-General (Renwick, 1980a) has drawn attention to the sharp distinctions that were made in legislation and in practice during the decades after 1945 between "education" on the one side and "training" on the other.

> "This shows clearly in the definition of technical education in the Education Act. Technical education 'means further (i.e. post-secondary school) education which is directly related to or in preparation for the trade or profession in which the pupil gains or expects to gain his livelihood'. 'Education', as thus defined, was marked off from 'training' in two important ways. It was limited to the trades and professions. And for the trades and professions to which technical education was relevant, an equally sharp distinction was initially made between theory and practice. It was not expected that courses at technical institutes should teach trade skills and ensure that apprentices reached acceptable standards of practical performance. That was the responsability of employers and master tradesmen. The 'off the job' contribution of technical education was to be in theory and knowledge of principles."

We saw a great deal of evidence in the course of our examination that such conceptual and institutional barriers to a more flexible response to occupational and social change are rapidly eroding. It is, however, unfortunate that the need for flexibility comes at a time when employment prospects are less good and there are fewer resources available to lubricate the processes of change. The known is preferred to the unknown, and proposals for which there are good arguments, not necessarily related to current unemployment problems (such as the reform of the apprenticeship system and the introduction of a "youth wage rate") are all too readily perceived as an attempt on the part of one or other interest group to seek a long-term advantage through exploiting current difficulties.

Projections of the number of school leavers over the next decade show a small rise to about 1988, followed by a fall which by 1991, on either the low or high projection, will bring the number of leavers down to about 3 000 less than in 1982. The employment difficulties encountered in recent years have been compounded by the increase in the number of leavers taking place during this period. The following table shows the number of leavers in 1970, 1975 and 1980, and the percentages going on to university, to different forms of training, and "all other" employments, including, recently, unemployment.

Percentages

	1970	1975	1980
Total number of leavers	51 729	54 233	58 851
To university	11.5	10.6	10.8
Teacher training	4.4	3.7	2.6
Technicians and health services	9.1	9.0	5.4
Other full-time training	4.1	6.1	7.6
Apprenticeships	15.0	15.4	9.1
All other	55.9	55.3	64.5

During 1981 there was an upturn in employment prospects, not least for school leavers, and the number of unemployed school leavers registered with the Department of Labour at December 1981 was the lowest it had been at a comparable time for the past four years. This, according to the Department's analyses, is not simply attributable to the reintroduction of the First Job Programme, but does reflect a general improvement in the employment situation.

This improvement was also shown in the number of new apprenticeship contracts, which in 1981 were 27.8 per cent up on the comparable period a year earlier. It is obviously too early to say whether these improvements will be maintained. A great deal turns on external economic circumstances, change in which is difficult to predict. It seems unlikely, however, that there will be an early or easy return to the conditions of full employment that existed some years ago. For example, in 1970 there were less than 1 000 people in New Zealand drawing unemployment benefit[5]. This number rose to nearly 3 000 in 1972, but fell to a low of 483 two years later. Even as recently as 1977, there were less than 2 200 persons on benefit, but within a year this number had increased by a factor of 7 to 15 753, and by 1981 it was standing at 33 780.

The numbers of the registered unemployed were, of course, larger than those on benefit for each of the years to which reference has been made, but the contrast between a low of 701 registered in 1974 and 47 464 in 1981 is very striking, especially in a country such as New Zealand which has enjoyed full employment for a long time. To note, as we have done at several points in this report, that it still represents a relatively small percentage of the total work force in comparison with the numbers of unemployed in other OECD countries is little comfort to either the New Zealand authorities or to the individuals without work. However, it must be observed that the proportion of the registered unemployed in the 1975 labour force was only 0.3 per cent, and in 1981, despite the high absolute figures to which we have referred, stood at only 3.7 per cent. This is a figure that the authorities in some less fortunate countries would envy.

The increase in the numbers of the unemployed has led to the realisation that New Zealand may be facing problems not simply of short-term frictional unemployment, but ones much more deeply rooted. In the words of the Director-General:

> "The educational implications of the changes now going on in working life are not cyclical in the sense that, given time, they will go away. They are structural: they represent irreversible changes in the circumstances of people's lives. They call for changes in the objectives set for the educational system, the forms of education that are available to individuals, the conditions under which they receive it, and the effectiveness of what is offered them." (Renwick, 1980a)

It is unemployment, seen as an index of changes in New Zealand's economic circumstances, that has more than anything else served to generate interest in achieving closer links between education and working life, in modifying the academic bias of the secondary school, in introducing work-related courses and experiences into school programmes, in rethinking the processes whereby the transition from full-time education to work is made, and in reforming patterns of on-the-job and off-the-job training for new entrants to the labour force. Anxieties about the personal and social costs of unemployment and its implications for the schools have generated what is by any standard a considerable volume of reports and recommendations, spawned committees and working parties, produced numerous discussion documents, including a Government White Paper, on possible reforms, and ensured that all the topics encapsulated by the now familiar title "education and the world of work" will have a place on agendas for some considerable time to come.

The documents we have studied, and the meetings that we had with a variety of interest groups—officials from the Departments of Education, Labour, Social Welfare, and Maori Affairs; representatives of the New Zealand Employers' Federation and of the Federation of Labour; the Planning Council and Vocational Training Council; staff and principals of technical institutes and a few individual employers—demonstrated impressive agreement about the nature of the problem and what might be done to deal with it. On only a very few issues, such as the youth wage rate, did we encounter strongly entrenched positions legitimated by well-developed and historically buttressed ideologies. But apart from this, the atmosphere was agreeably free of the rhetoric that is sometimes encountered in discussions of these matters. For example, there has been a tendency in some other OECD countries to "blame the schools" for many of the difficulties young people are now encountering in the labour market. Whilst there are in New Zealand plenty of critics of the schools, and of the relevance and usefulness of their programmes for adult life, it is widely appreciated that the nature of the problems are fundamentally economic, and that education, by itself, cannot reduce the overall number of the unemployed or create new jobs. There was very little inclination on anyone's part to find scapegoats for New Zealand's problems among her educators. From all sides, the point was made that a multi-faceted approach is needed if New Zealand's employment and growth problems are to be overcome, and although schools, colleges and universities can play some part in this, they are not to be blamed for the fact that the problem exists, nor are any conceivable kinds of educational reforms likely to constitute panaceas.

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[5] Department of Labour, *Jobs and People: The Government's Employment Strategy*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1981.

Another area of agreement concerned the need to avoid over-emphasizing specific job and skill training in secondary schools. Some of those with whom we spoke, and whose statements we read, seemed to be concerned that others were advocating a greater measure of such job-specific training than they themselves felt to be desirable. The New Zealand Federation of Labour, for example, saw dangers in what they spoke of as a "move towards a more vocationally-oriented school system". They argued for an education as broadly conceived and directed as possible. But we failed to come across any systematic advocacy of early job-specific training.

The New Zealand Planning Council advocacy of what they call a "vocational education option", possibly to be offered from the age of 14, has given rise to some concern among teachers and Education Department officials, but even this is intended as a very broad-based introduction to work, with a strong stress upon the basic *educational* skills relevant to employment in a particular industry or service area.

In advocating the vocational education option, the Planning Council had particularly in mind "people at most risk of unemployment". Much of the discussion about education and the world of work in New Zealand does indeed seem to be about the needs and problems of this particular group. [illegible] this is so is unsurprising. Such people require attention by welfare and custodial agencies that is out of all proportion to their absolute numbers. In many cases—but not in all, especially in relation to differences between regions in levels of unemployment—such people have benefited less than their fellows from school, have minimal accomplishments of a formal kind, have serious problems of adaptation to new circumstances, are deficient in social skills, and display personality characteristics that do not make it easy for them to obtain or keep jobs. To argue that the whole number of the unemployed suffer these handicaps would be nonsense. There are some young people who have successfully developed their particular skills, the demand for which has diminished, either locally or more generally. They may find themselves unemployed for shorter or longer periods but, generally speaking, have the capacity and willingness to acquire alternative employments. Those most at risk for unemployment often leave school at the earliest possible age. It has to be admitted that their teachers are sometimes glad to see them go. They can be tiresome, difficult, disruptive. In advocating its vocational option, the Planning Council noted the possibly disruptive effects of groups of unemployed youngsters being readmitted to school, a point that has been of considerable concern to some principals and school councils.

Because the unemployed include a somewhat larger proportion of educationally, socially and personally handicapped people, and members of minority groups, than can be found in the employed labour force, they tend to attract criticism as being work-shy or whishing to live on the backs of their employed neighbours, and they also generate a sense of threat. If some measure of youth unemployment is, as some have suggested, likely to be a recurrent feature of the economies of democratic societies that are subject to technological change but which do not practice direction of labour, the problem of finding an acceptable transition status for those who do not immediately take up some recognised form of higher education or training, or enter directly into employment on leaving school, will have to be found.

In this connection we noted with interest the establishment by the Department of Education of a working party concerned explicitly with the question of transition from school to working life. The group has the aim of facilitating "the establishment of a communication network among schools and educational associations, employer and employee organisations and other interested groups to assist schools in their role to prepare young people for transition from school to working life in a changing society". The committee is chaired by the Deputy Director-General and includes members from employers and employees' associations, teachers' trade unions, the Vocational Training Council and the Department of Labour. In highlighting the problems of status transition that face the young unemployed, the committee has noted that all those who leave school to enter university or teacher training, to become nurses or technicians, or who enter apprenticeship, embark upon a process which is recognised and respected in the wider community, which agencies exist to facilitate, which offer opportunities for peer group association in a purposeful institutional framework and which has more or less clear goals and purposes. These advantages are denied those who do not enter any form of systematic training programmes, but who cannot immediately find work. If such groups are to continue to exist, they will need to be offered a status and forms of institutionalised assistance that recognises the elements of moral disapproval, defensiveness in the face of implied threat, and progressive alienation from mainstream economic life that currently characterise attitudes towards the unemployed.

Because of the pressing nature of the problems presented by the young unemployed, there is perhaps a tendency to concentrate discussion on this particular aspect of the relations of education and the world of work, and to give insufficient attention to the broader structural changes and problems that affect the whole pattern of school work relations. The two groups about whom most is being said and written in New Zealand at present are the young unemployed and apprentices. Yet only about one school leaver in ten becomes an apprentice, and the proportion of the unemployed is even smaller than that. A question that must be of central importance to any system is the quality and extent of post-school educational opportunities for the more than half of all school leavers who go directly into employment of one kind or another. The variety of such employment is of course very large. The specific training requirements in respect of many of the jobs performed are, at least on the surface, minimal, although it can certainly be argued that the job satisfaction of the individual worker, and certainly the client satisfaction of those with whom such people work or who use the products that they help to make, can be considerably enhanced by the availability and take-up of appropriate kinds and quantities of social, general and vocational education. In this connection, one must welcome efforts that are being made by industry training boards to identify the skills and knowledge that are specific to different kinds of employment, and applaud the efforts that the staff of technical institutes and other post-secondary institutions are making to involve a broad spectrum of young workers in educational and training activities aimed not only at enhancing job and client satisfaction, but also at enriching the worker's present and subsequent quality of life. The idea that *all* young people should participate actively in some form of continued education between leaving school and acquiring full adult status is by no means new. It is still, alas, in many countries far from accomplished. Yet it is in such a context that the problems of ameliorating youth unemployment and reforming apprentice training should ideally be conceptualised and examined.

There has been discussion in some countries of a "youth guarantee", which will offer appropriate educational and training opportunities *and* necessary financial support, for one, two or more post-school years. In Norway, a Youth Guarantee aims at providing the 16-19-year-olds with either education, training or employment, or combinations of these elements. Such provision is inevitably expensive. If applied universally and in a non-discriminatory manner, it must include all those engaged in any form of post-compulsory education, including those in the upper forms of the secondary school. Given the problems associated with any kind of means testing, and the high overall cost that would in any case be involved, few governments have felt able to introduce comprehensive youth guarantees or youth policies of this kind. Nonetheless, we believe that the issues to which such policies constitute a possible response are important and deserve attention.

Unemployment must be seen as the present symptom of a problem with much greater long-term consequences, which will affect the whole labour force, including those in apparently stable forms of employment and careers. The Vocational Training Council stated the position clearly[6].

> "In accepting the concept of accelerated and therefore constant change, and that the impact of these changes is becoming increasingly unpredictable, then the challenge to training in the total employment context is demanding.
>
> What is more, semi-conductor technology could become 'pervasive'—that is, it will be adopted as a matter of course in many areas where it is now non-existent and virtually unknown.
>
> To an increasing extent training authorities, and educationalists, will have to develop strategies and programmes against the background of regular job change for many in the labour market."

In responding to the challenge of unemployment in the context of rapid technological change, many countries have established complex networks of agencies and programmes designed to encourage employers to create new jobs and to employ larger numbers of new entrants to the labour force; to develop work skills among work seekers; to promote regional development, especially in areas with high rates of unemployment and declining industries; and to offer short- and medium-term subsidised employment to smooth the impact of seasonal work and the influx of school leavers on to the labour market. New Zealand has no shortage of such schemes. They can be classified as measures dealing with labour demand, with labour supply, with the mutual adjustment of supply and demand, and with income maintenance for the unemployed.

Within the first group come private sector job creation programmes (the Additional Job Scheme, First Job Scheme and Unemployment Scheme), regional development programmes, public sector job creation programmes (embracing temporary employment, work skills, special projects, student community service, winter employment and work rehabilitation), community employment initiatives, the stimulation of job creation in the voluntary sector, the retraining of the voluntarily displaced, farm cadet subsidies, extended training for apprenticeships and a number of other similarly targeted schemes.

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[6] Vocational Training Council, *New Technologies and their Effect on New Zealand*, VTC, Wellington, 1980, p. 20.

Labour supply measures include specialised vocational training for Maoris, training incentive schemes and development assistance, the industrial training service, expanded public sector training, pre-employment skills courses and work-based training, and schemes for the employment of older workers.

Means for the mutual adjustment of labour supply and demand include the work of the Employment and Vocational Guidance Service, to which reference has already been made in this chapter, the application of legislation concerning redundancy and equal pay, and the use of immigration policy.

In budget terms, the largest item of all is unemployment benefits, which in the last year for which we have figures, cost nearly $120 million. Within the group of public sector job creation programmes, the temporary employment scheme cost $93 million and the student community service programme accounted for over $16 million. Regional development took $11 million, but most of the other programmes and schemes involve expenditure of anything between $100 000 and $3 million.

Most of these measures are of relatively recent origin. They have been created to deal with specific needs as these have arisen, and there is no doubt that they serve as useful palliatives to present problems of unemployment, and that some are likely to yield more valuable long-term benefits. The range and variety of such programmes, and the number of agencies now engaged give rise to some very real problems of co-ordination, especially where several Departments of Government are involved. Such involvement extends to the Department of Education, the Department of Labour, the Department of Social Welfare, the Department of Maori Affairs, the Department of Internal Affairs, the Department of Justice and the Treasury. Day-to-day liaison between officials, and the work of representative groups such as the Transition Committee set up by the Department of Education, together with the overview provided by Treasury officials as far as new spending proposals are concerned, all help to prevent the kinds of overlap and inconsistency in policy initiatives and implementation that can sometimes occur in the face of such complexity. Problems do, however, still occur. We were interested to note that the Department of Social Welfare is now willing to pay unemployment benefit to young people who, after a minimal period of unsuccessful job seeking, return to full-time education for periods of up to 20 weeks. This would seem to be an important concession in relation to the general principles that those in full-time education and training should not receive unemployment benefit, and highlights the need to harmonize student support in post-compulsory education with income maintenance in such a way as to reconcile the sometimes conflicting aims of minimising public expenditure, maintaining equity, offering encouragement for further training, and preventing abuse.

In more than one OECD country, the system of transfer payments that includes student support, income maintenance payments, training allowances, employment incentives, job subsidies, and other similar payments is beginning to creak under the strain of reconciling too many different objectives. Few countries so far seem to have subjected their transfer payment schemes to the kind of overall assessment that may be needed to deal with changing economic and social conditions. The whole business is still associated with attitudes and practices that may well be not only out of date but counter-productive as far as broader social objectives are concerned. For example, tertiary allowances are set at a level that requires students to obtain other earnings during the course of their study. Yet opportunities to do so are now severely restricted and student organisations are fearful that Government will remove the subsidy at present provided through the Student Community Service Programme. Tertiary support in general is, in many countries, predicated on the assumption that opportunities among students from different social origins are thereby equalised or made less important. This objective is seldom realised in practice.

The maintenance of adequate work incentives requires that income maintenance payments for the unemployed be fixed at levels which do not diminish the desire to find work—unless, that is, a country is faced with more or less permanent problems of unemployment for the least skilled, and must somehow provide those affected with a status and quality of life that minimises the social costs of long-term joblessness. Yet to do this goes against a moral code that includes deeply felt attidudes concerning worth, effort, desert and reward. Through their overt and hidden curricula, through their forms of organisation and the ways of life they value and reward, schools, colleges and universities convey to young people and to society at large many significant messages about such values, and provide long-term socialisation into ways of acting, feeling, thinking and believing consistent with them. The excesses that sometimes characterise the behaviour of individuals and groups that attempt to promulgate emergent values can be both disturbing and disruptive. Yet a response based on no more than a desire to return to tried and tested varieties fails to recognise the continued presence of problems to which, for example, so-called "alternative life styles" constitute one possible set of responses. Through the kinds of open debate and discussion to which New Zealand has long been committed, and with the help of inputs from its own intellectuals, artists, and social critics, rather than excessive reliance on "invisible imports" of these kinds, New Zealand can chart its own path towards a set of solutions to the current problems of technological and social change that respects mainstream values yet at the same time encourages the presentation and critical evaluation of new approaches. New Zealand has within her society a variety of cultures and a positive awareness of its multi-cultural heritage that can itself produce valuable social innovations. The values that characterise the work of schools and those of the economic system within which students seek employment and the ways in which these are reconciled within the processes of institutional transition, remain important matters for New Zealand and many other OECD countries to tackle. New Zealand is in a period of transition, in some respects similar to, but in others very different from, that experienced by other OECD countries. Geographically she is peripheral to the OECD system of nations, and partly for this reason economically obliged to reorient herself to non-European markets and cultures. The relative impact of Anglo-Saxon tradition will undoubtedly decrease and perhaps a more distinct New Zealand identity will emerge. Among the OECD nations, she seems to have more in common with the smaller countries and populations, the Benelux and the Scandinavian group of welfare states, rather than the "big powers". But within the system of modern industrialised nations New Zealand is in a good position to preserve many of the important values most threatened in today's world.

Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship is one of the oldest forms of post-school education and training. The legislation, regulations and committee structures that govern its operation in most OECD countries represent a formalisation of contracts entered into by private and public employers to provide systematic induction, skill training and vocational education for young entrants to the work force. They also reflect the use that has traditionally been made of apprenticeship to control numbers in crafts and industries to protect the status, employment prospects and incomes of established tradesmen and master craftsmen. Thus, discussions about changes in arrangements for apprenticeship involve far more than judgements about the kinds of education and training, over what period, and under whose control, that are likely to be most efficacious in inducting new generations of workers into skilled employment. They also have much to do with the standing of such skills in the work force as a whole, and soon involve discussions about wage comparabilities, job demarcation, and the regulation of labour supply and demand. Educational policies touching upon apprenticeship, both in the schools from which future apprentices come, and in the tertiary institutions where they receive their off-the-job training, cannot be formulated without reference to these broader questions, which sometimes loom irritatingly large in relation to educationists' views about the necessity for reform.

We encountered widespread agreement in New Zealand that present arrangements for apprenticeship are unsatisfactory. Such dissatisfaction springs in part from a recognition that education and training structured in accordance with craft-based organisation has many weaknesses in relation to emergent patterns of industrial production. New technologies, and the forms of work organisation to which they give rise, are not always well served by traditional definitions of skills and the training that is provided for these.

Other sources of dissatisfaction have to do with the *quality* of the training provided on the job. In small enterprises, there may be no systematic training at all, and the apprentice may find himself or herself simply used as more or less unskilled labour, expected to pick up the trade by what is often referred to as "sitting by Nellie". In larger enterprises, apprentices may find themselves involved in only one narrow aspect of a process, which gives little opportunity to develop that broader range of skills and knowledge needed for effective performance in a craft or an industry.

A third source of dissatisfaction has to do with the failure adequately to identify both the broad, generic skills that are needed in a particular industry, and into which apprentices within relevant crafts should be inducted, and those which are more specific to successful performance within a particular trade. The kinds of job analysis that have been carried out in the development of what are sometimes called "laboratory-based" skills training courses, sometimes utilising elements of programmed learning, simulation, video presentation, Keller plan units and modules, and other contemporary instructional techniques, are by no means commonplace as far as some forms of existing craft training within conventional apprenticeship schemes are concerned. Whilst such techniques are sometimes advocated with more enthusiasm than judgement, there is little doubt that they do have a place in skill training, which needs to be carefully evaluated in relation to each industry and occupation.

Finally, there are a number of concerns about the lack of well-written and easily available training manuals, the failure of many employers to maintain proper apprenticeship records, and the fact that many of those who serve as apprentice instructors are themselves quite untrained in instructional technique. The education and training of instructors in technical institutes, industrial training schools and other post-secondary institutions is clearly a matter of some concern, and an area in which the combined expertise of the teachers' colleges (where staff may be expert in educational method but lack knowledge of the occupational contexts to which these are to apply) and experienced technicians from industry and the institutes (who, as we have noted, are sometimes deficient in instructional technique) will be needed. The Vocational Training Council[7] has proposed the introduction of what is called "Stratified Training", in which specialist skills would be built upon a broad-based initial training in transferable skills, occupying perhaps two-thirds of the total apprenticeship period. More specialised units of training could subsequently be added. The length and programmes for off-the-job training to which reference has already been made in this chapter could in the Council's view be made more general, and greater provision should be made for *group* apprenticeship offering through secondment employer-cooperation, training opportunities that no single employer could provide.

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[7] Vocational Training Council, *Review of Apprenticeship: recommendations for future policy*, Wellington, 1980.

85

Another concern of significance well beyond the field of apprenticeship as such is the very small proportion of apprentices who are women. The apprenticeable trades are male-dominated, and the employment opportunities for young women are greatly restricted thereby. Not only is it desirable to encourage women to enter the traditional trades, but the creation of training positions in a broader range of occupations (e.g. in commerce) would assist.

Some of these proposals were taken up in a Government Discussion Paper published in October 1981[8]. The White Paper reflects the VTC review to which reference has already been made, as well as statements by the New Zealand Planning Council and the work of the earlier Tyndall Commission (1965). The White Paper proposes the retention of apprenticeship as an important source of trade skills, but stresses the importance of identifying the skills in which training needs to be provided, the need for new techniques of such training, more broadly based at the early stages than at present, the systematic review of prescriptions, and an increase in the supply of training places. The proposals of the White Paper were still under discussion at the time of our examination of New Zealand educational policy.

Any decision about apprenticeship that would increase the demand for off-the-job training opportunities will put pressure on the existing capacity of the technical institutes and community colleges. It is this, among other factors, that is directing the attention of policy-makers towards the need to expand the tertiary institute system over the next ten years, a matter to which reference has been made at a number of points in this report. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, the "languages" that teachers, trade instructors, tertiary institute tutors and representatives of employers speak when discussing improved methods of apprenticeship training are not always consistent with one another. That there should be differences in emphasis is inevitable and indeed desirable if the debate about what is to be done is to be lively and constructive. It has to be recognised, however, that contributions need to be made from several quarters if reform is to be effective and that neither a narrow concentration upon skill training on the one side, or an open-ended commitment to a broadly based liberal education on the other, will best serve the needs of industry or of New Zealand's young people in a time of rapid technological and social change.

We have noted elsewhere that women tend to make restricted and conventional choices of future occupations. Unconventional choices frequently lead to frustration, such as difficulties in being apprenticed or employed. Women may be encouraged to choose their occupations on a more independent basis if properly backed by their schools, for instance when trying to obtain apprenticeship contracts.

We have argued earlier in this chapter that almost *any* so-called "skill" can be taught in a way that fulfils many of the purposes of those who advocate "liberal education". Only continued contact and dialogue between the interest groups concerned can bridge the long-standing gap between "education" and "training" and overcome the deleterious effects of status distinctions and attitudes, originating in the early years of industrialisation, that continue today to colour our use of terms such as "academic", "liberal" and "vocational".

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[8] *Apprenticeship for Tomorrow: A Government statement on directions for trade training in New Zealand*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1981.

Education for a Multi-cultural Future

The Department of Education, in the background report, referred to the evidence of "dedicated effort by teachers, parents and administrators, pakeha as well as Maori, to improve the performance of Maori students". The Department concludes that "the various policies now in place are making a significant contribution to bi-cultural understanding and respect".

The meetings that we had with members of the Maori community and with those who are working with them in the pursuit of social, economic and educational objectives confirmed this view. Twenty years ago, the Currie Commission saw the problem as having two aspects—first, to determine how far the education offered to Maoris in the schools was in fact suitable for their needs and, second, to enable Maoris to take advantage of the education that *was* offered "to the extent that this lies within the control of the education system". This was, and remains, an important caveat. The Commission was clear that "the school has no power to remove the social handicaps under which the Maori pupil frequently labours; how far it can ameliorate such handicaps, however, deserves close study".

Adequate and appropriate educational provision is rightly seen, by *pakeha* and Maoris alike, as a critical factor in building a stable base for a multi-cultural society and for a proper sense of ethnic and national identity. The Currie Commission did not discuss multi-culturalism, which at that time had not emerged as an idea, symbol or policy, although many of the Currie recommendations were consistent with what today would be regarded as multi-cultural ideas. But the achievement of multi-culturalism is not simply a task of the schools. In the New Zealand Planning Council's publication *He Matapuna* (1979) some radical proposals are made for the achievement of current Maori aspirations about which the examiners do not assume there would be agreement either within or between the Maori and *pakeha* communities, but which illustrate the difficult role faced by education in meeting contemporary Maori aspirations. Only in respect of language development and the retention and development of Maoritanga could the schools play a decisive part in implementing such proposals.

The National Advisory Committee on Maori Education (Department of Education, 1980d) has set out a series of objectives for the school—higher retention, creation of a climate of success, better academic standards, more Maori children in leadership roles; for the Department of Education—more Maori teachers, more relevant second chance education and skill training; and for the community—increasing use of Maori language, greater multi-cultural visibility in the media, and occupational representation in proportion to numbers in the total population. Here again, although schools and the Department can do much to foster the achievement of such objectives, political and community support is also essential.

Even where there is agreement about overall objectives, and general policies consistent with these, there is still room for disagreement about implementation. The Department's background report states that "Maori people are... tired of being told that the progress of Maori students compares unfavourably with that of *pakeha* students. They are much more concerned to look ahead and build upon strengths". Such a statement may well be true. It does not, however, dispose of the problem. Twenty years ago, the Currie Commission referred to it in the following terms:

> "It is... difficult to isolate any single factor affecting the Maoris' secondary performance and, where some will see a basic difficulty arising from different ways of thinking and expressing, others will see merely a further result of restricted background and limited vocabularies."[9]

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[9] Commission on Education in New Zealand, *1962 Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

There is still little agreement about causes of poorer overall performance, despite improvements in recent years (see Department of Education, 1980d). It has been suggested that low self-esteem may have a part to play, and there have been attempts to meet this by incorporating Maoritanga values and practices in the work of schools. However, Ramby (1979) found that the presence or absence of Maoritanga in the school was not associated with pupils' self-esteem. We were also reminded by Maori elders that Maori children are not expected to talk unless invited to do so by an adult, and that Maori women in many situations are explicitly expected to remain silent, while Maori men will talk. We can easily imagine that the impact of such norms may lead to conflicts and misinterpretation of potential in the modern classroom. We have noticed that the Departments of Education and of Maori Affairs actively promote an increased awareness of these and other factors in cross-cultural communication. Although there are now no longer separate Maori schools, the last having been taken over by Boards following the Currie recommendations in the early sixties, there are a number of highly academic schools which cater predominantly for Maoris that have first class records of academic success. Ramby (1979, p. 4) is obliged to ask the question:

> "These schools have been accepted in the past by pakehas with equanimity, and by Maoris with pride. Have there been losses in social and racial harmony too great to be compensated in the quest for academic success? Would more schools of this type be a bad thing?"

It seems doubtful if the creation of high-level academic schools, catering specifically for non-pakeha ethnic groups would be desirable or acceptable in New Zealand today. It is clear that if teachers are to be successful in incorporating what has been called "active Maoritanga" into the work of schools, in helping to raise the academic accomplishments of their minority pupils, and in incorporating such contents and styles of language teaching into the curriculum as are best calculated to maintain and enhance culture and identity, without detriment to scholastic progress, they will need much more systematic and thorough knowledge of the research evidence bearing on these issues (Harker, 1981), and a first hand awareness of the practice and procedures most likely to achieve their objectives.

Educational opinion in New Zealand is not alone among OECD countries in displaying some contradictions about what might best be done to improve the prospects of a genuine multi-culturalism. On the one side, there is emphasis on raising the achievement of ethnic minorities by means of positive discrimination and programmes of social action. On the other, it is suggested that "success" as defined in current academic and occupational terms is overrated, and that to impose such criteria on minorities can itself be a denial of genuinely multicultural values.

In the face of such contradictions, such gains as are represented by the residential in-service programmes located on *maraes*, the experiments in the introduction of bilingual programmes in primary schools and the improved recruitment from ethnic minorities to teaching (3 per cent Maoris in 1971, 8 per cent in 1982) are all to be welcomed. It is unfortunate that at a time when efforts of this kind are particularly needed, and likely to be worthwhile, resources for in-service support are at a premium, and the numbers of teachers released for in-service refreshment and training are not increasing at a rate consistent with demands being made upon the profession and the schools. A much diminished intake of newly qualified teachers inevitably means that new knowledge and new skills can only be made available in the schools if existing members of the teaching force are enabled to acquire them. Since so much of what the schools *can* do by way of improving the position of ethnic minorities in New Zealand is dependent upon the knowledge and the skill of teachers, we feel obliged to place particular

88

emphasis on the priority attaching to maintaining and enhancing levels of in-service support.

The incidence of Maori speaking in New Zealand has been extensively mapped by Dr. R.A. Benton (1979) of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. He found that a majority of Maori people of 25 or over in the Northern parts of North Island, parts of the Bay of Plenty, the East Coast and in some other parts, do speak Maori, together with most people over 45 in these and other parts of the North Island. In a very small number of rural areas most children and younger people speak Maori, as do a few young people and children in some other places. Based upon his own sample, he has calculated that there are about 70 000 persons able to speak Maori conversationally, and another 115 000 able to understand it with ease. These totals are large, but as Benton points out, with approximately half the Maori population being under the age of 15, and only 15 per cent of this age group being able to speak Maori, the future of the language is somewhat less bright. Benton's conclusions are worth quoting:

> "Perhaps the fundamental problem which its speakers have to face is that the Maori language is the vehicle for a culture that is very different in some important ways from the dominant culture. It is the dominant culture that has all the institutions of political power, social prestige, and communication. If those who control these institutions are willing to use their influence towards supporting the Maori language, rather than undermining its already precariously balanced foundation, the language may yet survive to play a vital role in the life of all New Zealanders. Without it, the cultural and aesthetic life of this country will certainly be the poorer, and we will have lost an irreplaceable symbol of our national identity." (p. 11)

The examiners share the author's concern about the importance of language to the maintenance of Maori culture and institutions, and welcome the interest that officers of the Department have shown in this matter in the course of our examination. This is a difficult area. To work out a genuinely bilingual language policy would require that the claims not only of Maoris but also of all other ethnic minorities in New Zealand society be recognised and provided for. Harker (1981) has argued that "New Zealand society must go far beyond the rhetoric of multi-culturalism (at which we have few peers in the world) and give substance to our fine words". Yet the political, social and resource implications of system-wide teaching of Maori and other languages must not be underestimated, and it does not seem likely that the issues will be resolved quickly by administrative decision. Any consistent or effective course of action in this area will require a major political initiative and commitment.

It was pointed out to us by Maori elders that military organisation during the world wars had required and developed new leadership among the Maoris. It was hoped and believed that the education system could have a similar function. Judging from the active and innovative engagement by several departments and organisations in Maori education, and the amount of self-help and self-care in many Maori communities, this hope seems not unwarranted. The fact that initiative is now focused on education rather than the military, and that many Maoris have moved from their traditional environment to the cities, may also gradually improve the relative position of Maori women. In this connection, the care for the very young, and the ways in which household and public responsibility is intertwined become crucial, because of the many positive effects for children, mothers, families, communities and cultures (McDonald, 1973).

IX

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Educational policies that are national in relation to means and objectives, and which are to have some hope of implementation and success, need an adequate knowledge and data base. Some part of this is provided by activities which can be loosely grouped under the heading "Educational Research". Although nearly all OECD countries have for a long time made some provision for such research, it experienced a major phase of expansion and institutionalisation during the 1960s and early 1970s. That this should be so is unsurprising. This was a period of expansion in nearly all aspects of education, and the intuition that improvements should be made in the knowledge base of an activity that was coming to take up such a large percentage of national budgets led in many cases to the creation of new organisations, to the voting of large sums for contract research, the training of research workers and the expansion and support of existing facilities in universities and colleges. Research and development was the focus of OECD studies of country policies[1] and was extensively documented and reviewed through books, reports, conferences and seminars. With the slowing down of educational growth, and increasing doubts about the extent to which schools, colleges and universities were achieving those goals that had provided at least some of the legitimation for increases in public expenditure, the role and impact of educational research itself began to be questioned. Reports on research impact, and evaluations of existing progrmmes and commitments began to appear in increasing numbers from the mid-1970s, and not only the levels of support, but the institutions themselves that had benefited from the early enthusiasm for research came under pressure.

It would be wrong to assume from all this that belief in the importance of educational research for policy-making and implementation was misplaced, or that many of the institutions and forms of support that grew up as vehicles for such research will disappear. On the contrary, it is widely recognised that the slowing down of growth, even actual contraction, is associated with no lessening in the complexity of the issues that policy-makers must face, and that high-quality information is essential to avoid the disadvantages of what a contributor to the 1978 New Zealand Ministerial Conference on Educational Research called "the stalemate society".

> "... one which is unable to act in certain areas because it cannot reach a compromise on what to do and how to accommodate national strategic goals with conflicting interests of diverse social groups. In some instances requisite knowledge for decision making is not available. This stalemate cannot be overcome unless there is a continued open debate between Government on

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[1] See, for example, OECD, *Reviews of National Policies for Education: United States*, Paris, 1971.

> the one hand and the public on the other concerning the rate and implications of economic growth, the application of scientific knowledge and the effects of alternative technological and social developments. Obviously the social sciences have an important role to play in both broadening the scope and content of discourse and in contributing to fuller social development." (Fraser, 1979, p. 20.)

The questions being asked today have much to do with the relevance and usefulness of the kinds of information that research makes available, and the mechanisms that exist for bringing such information to bear on policy-making and implementation, at all levels from central government to the individual classroom. The contemporary stress on instrumentalism and the relevance of policies to economic recovery are reflected in some of these questions, and just as in some places, in the early 1960s, expenditure may have been insufficiently targeted or specific, and the relation between theory and practice ill-thought through, so today there is a risk of over-emphasizing so-called practical concerns and devaluing the importance of the way in which we conceptualise and categorise problems in terms of intellectual disciplines and methodologies.

The formal beginnings of educational research in New Zealand can be traced back to work done by the country's first Professor of Education, James Shelley, at the University of Canterbury in the years immediately following the First World War. During the course of their visit to New Zealand, the examiners were privileged to meet and talk with Dr. C.E. Beeby, who was one of Shelley's assistants at Canterbury, later a distinguished Director-General of Education and Ambassador to Paris, and now a Visiting International Consultant at the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

A UNESCO sponsored international colloquium[2] has identified five types of institutional structure by means of which education research is carried on:

1. university-based centres, departments, units and faculties;
2. national educational research centres;
3. autonomous, private educational research institutions;
4. research divisions or units in government ministries;
5. local educational research centres, units or schools[3].

Shelley's work at Canterbury shows that it was the first of these types of institutional structure through which educational research was initially stimulated in New Zealand, but it was not long before the second type, a national educational research centre, was established in the form of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Financed entirely by the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the first ten years of its existence, the Council soon built up a significant quantum of human and technical resources.

The autonomy of the Council was confirmed by its statutory recognition at the end of the Second World War, and although the pace of the Council's efforts and the scale of its funding slackened somewhat in the 50s, development was taking place at that time in universities, and the Department of Education had begun to show an interest in research by appointing specialist officers and setting up a School Development group.

During the years of educational expansion from about 1960, the NZCER recovered much of its importance and some of its funding, there was a considerable increase in the number of advanced students and teams pursuing research relevant to education in universities, the Department of Education established its

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[2] "International Colloquium: Research and Practice in Education" held in Bucharest (Romania) in November 1980.

[3] Quoted in *Educational Research and Training in Asia and the Pacific*, National Institute for Educational Research, Tokyo, 1981, p. 4.

Research and Statistics Division, and education groups were established in a number of major centres. At the end of the 1970s, a national association for educational research was set up in New Zealand.

Thus we find in New Zealand examples of each of the five types of institutional structures identified by UNESCO. There are Departments of Education in all six universities. Staff from these Departments may apply for research support through the Research Grants Committee of the UGC, as well as direct to the Department of Education and to other independent foundations and sources of funds. The New Zealand Council for Educational Research, with a large measure of autonomy under legislation, undertakes its own programme of research, work commissioned by Government, and participates in international research enquiries. In its report for 1980/81, the Council classifies its research and development programme under the headings of professional, vocational and adult education; the transition from school; research on the arts; research on early childhood education; the language context of Maori schooling; research related to health education; the test development programme; and "other sponsored projects". Some 52 enquiries are referred to under these headings. No fewer than 16 come under the heading of professional, vocational and adult education, dealing with such matters as selection and training of apprentices, worker literacy, training requirements for clerical occupations, the readability of trade certificate board examinations, and the attitude to study materials of technical correspondence students—all topics that are relevant to the terms of reference of our examination. The Department of Education, through its Research and Statistics Division, commissions work by NZCER, in universities and colleges, and also responds to initiatives from the field. Within the Department, the Research and Statistics Division, the Development Division and the Psychological Service undertake significant amounts of research. The NZCER has an extensive publishing programme and also collaborates with other research organisations, notably the Australian Council for Educational Research, in publishing *SET*, a twice yearly issue of leaflets and brief reports designed for private study, staff meetings, in-service courses and discussion in small groups. Teachers are encouraged to take copies of these for their own purposes.

Given the overall size of the New Zealand system, all this represents a substantial research investment. Like almost any form of educational expenditure, it is currently subject to constraint. During the course of our examination, the Minister announced a 3 per cent reduction in educational spending, and it was suggested that part of this would be achieved by reducing the volume of research supported by the Department. Whilst recognising the importance of constraint in public expenditure, we nonetheless regret the tendency, common to many countries, for activities such as research to bear the brunt of spending cut-backs. As we have already noted, a slower rate of growth has in no way reduced the complexity of education as an area of political and social policy or invalidated the necessity for decision-making to be based on the best available information. In a value-laden and highly specialised field such as Education, there is always the risk that the limitations of any one person's or group of people's experience, and the seductive quality of anecdote, will have an untoward influence on the formation of opinion and the evaluation and implementation of policy. Research-based knowledge can never substitute for judgement and experience and only in some restricted areas can it claim "scientific" status. Such information is a vital corrective, however, to other sources of influence on policy-making, and we should regret any action that reduced the possibility of well-founded research being undertaken on issues relevant to New Zealand's educational problems, or of the results of such work not being widely disseminated, discussed and, where appropriate, acted upon.

The scope of our investigation precluded a detailed examination of educational research prospects and problems in New Zealand, but we would like to identify a number of points on which further discussion within the educational community may be useful and necessary.

1. While it is recognised in New Zealand that educational research is closely associated with other kinds of social enquiry, there has as yet been little institutionalisation of these links. In a report of the Social Sciences Committee presented to the National Research Advisory Council in October 1977[4], a number of important research themes were identified—inequality, environment, conflict, social policies—which subsumed such educationally relevant topics as:

- Children and youth in society;
- Environmental planning;
- Form and organisation of society;
- Future states of society;
- Industrial relations;
- Inequalities in health, welfare and housing;
- Justice and equity;
- Male and female roles in society;
- Race relations;
- Unemployment and employment opportunities.

(Quoted by Fraser, 1979, p. 31).

2. In a presentation to the 1978 Ministerial Conference on Research, the Head of the Department's Research and Statistics Division referred to a number of deficiencies in the organisation of educational research in New Zealand, including a shortage of funds, the lack of mechanisms for establishing national priorities, and the absence of machinery for effective co-ordination. The establishment of a national educational research association, seen as a source of advice on educational research matters and of representatives who might be appointed to appropriate committees, advocated at the Conference, has since been implemented. We are by no means certain, however, that the establishment of such an association, without such other steps as were recommended in, for example, Professor Lawrence's report to the Educational Development Council in 1974 *(Improving Learning and Teaching)*, and in the previously mentioned report of the Social Sciences Committee to the NRAC, will be adequate to achieve the co-ordination and perform the priority-setting functions that have for some time been seen as desirable.

3. While the overall picture of educational research in New Zealand, in relation to the size of the system, is generally speaking impressive, its coverage has inevitably suffered from the disciplinary fragmentation of educational studies made necessary by the increasingly technical and specialised nature of many problems and enquiries. The papers from the First National Conference of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education, held in Wellingon in 1979[5], offer a valuable indication of the range of work currently being undertaken, but this does not appear to include anything in the economics of education, which we have elsewhere indicated in this report as significant for the problems we have sought to address, or in the philosophy of education. The latter, far from being an abstract theoretical study, divorced from the kinds of problems that are our concern in this report, can do much to assist with the clarification of goals and purposes, and to sharpen the quality of educational discourse in relation to a

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[4] *Priorities and Organisations in the Social Sciences.*

[5] New Zealand Association for Research in Education, *Research in Education in New Zealand: the state of the art.* Wellington, 1980.

wide spectrum of practical and theoretical problems. It is possible that the omission of these two themes from the report is simply an artefact of its organisation, and that valuable work in these and other unrepresented fields is in fact going on in universities and elsewhere. This is a matter on which further information would be useful.

In concluding this brief consideration of R&D in education, we would reiterate our view that to maintain such work at a high level should be a matter of some priority if policies are to be formulated and decisions made on the basis of accurate, up-to-date and relevant information, rather than in terms of nostrums imported from overseas or supported only by anecdote and prejudice. Whilst research activity cannot hope to be exempt from the constraints imposed on educational expenditure, its continuing importance during such periods of constraint needs to be recognised, as does the value of ensuring such levels of co-ordination as will prevent duplication and waste, without diminishing the opportunity for new projects to be initiated and for central agencies to be responsive to developments in the field.

Part Two

RECORD OF THE REVIEW MEETING

Paris, 25 November 1982

I

OPENING STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXAMINERS

Professor Karmel emphasized that the examiners' approach to their task had been influenced by the way in which the term 'post-secondary' is interpreted in New Zealand. The term tends to be used in a temporal rather than academic sense, taking in the educational activities of students who may not have completed full secondary school. Thus, the examiners thought it necessary to look both into the school system and the labour market. Without some attention given to primary schooling, they could not properly understand secondary provision. Equally, when looking at the labour market, they had to be concerned with training for specifics forms of employment, with unemployment, and with other matters such as gender differentiation in the job market. So the focus was wide rather than narrow.

The examiners also tried to look at the issues within the economic and social context of New Zealand as it was during their visit. Its current economic difficulties, shared with many other OECD countries, had to be taken into account. These difficulties were seen to have structural as well as cyclical elements. And, of course, the examiners could not ignore such social issues as multi-culturalism, given the significant number of Maoris and Pacific Islanders in the population.

While New Zealand is not a microcosm of the OECD experience there are many common elements between it and other OECD countries, and the differences are also illuminating. The examiners have written their report against a backdrop of OECD themes. Coming from the United Kingdom, Norway and Australia, they learned a great deal by looking at New Zealand problems, and New Zealand successes in meeting these problems, in relation to what had been done in their own countries. It was hoped that their report would assist New Zealanders in seeing their experiences reflected in an OECD mirror.

The examiners had to be very cautious about making assertions on what was right and what was wrong in New Zealand. Their visit was for only three weeks. Although they had talked to a lot of people, they would not wish to assert with any dogmatism that their conclusions were necessarily the only ones that could be reached.

Before passing on to particular issues, Professor Karmel wished to give a few more general impressions. The examiners were very favourably impressed with what they saw of the New Zealand education system. There seemed to be substantial satisfaction with it among its clientele. It is administered in a highly professional way. The overall level of provision gives the impression of being of high standard, but not extravagant. There have been systematic and largely successful attempts to ensure that educational opportunities are equally available in rural and less populated areas, to provide for disadvantaged groups and to maintain open entry to university. The community is well involved in local management, and school buildings are used out of hours.

The system appears to be economical. Pupil/teacher ratios are modest. Unnecessary duplication, especially at post-secondary level, has been avoided without the necessity to create the binary system characteristic of some other countries. There is a well informed level of discussion about education matters and extensive documentation is available. Multi-cultural education is receiving a good deal of attention, and adults are well provided for in technical institutes, community colleges, universities and through many informal means.

Inevitably, there were some impressions that were rather more ambiguous than those already mentioned. There have been no major structural changes in the education system for many years. Development has been incremental. Traditionally the system has been person-centred, and is now being forced to come to grips with an instrumental view of education which is to some extent in conflict with traditional values. This is demonstrated in a concern about secondary education, particularly in the role of examinations in its last three years. Whilst there is a high level of local participation in management, educational policy is itself highly centralised. The primary and secondary cycles of education are of uneven length, one of eight years, the other of only five—and even less for some students. The proportion staying on to the end of secondary school is lower than in the United States, Canada and Japan, as is participation in tertiary education. The New Zealand experience in this respect is much closer to that of the United Kingdom and of Australia. Youth unemployment is not as serious as in some other OECD countries, but New Zealand's employment record has been so successful in the past that *any* level of unemployment inevitably gives rise to concern. Some of those who confront this problem seem to believe that youth unemployment is a temporary phenomenon, which may go away when economic conditions improve. The examiners' view is that some elements of youth unemployment are structural in character. It is possible that there is a significant proportion of young people whose level of productivity is and will remain below the socially acceptable minimum real wage. The very strong commitments in New Zealand to the welfare of older people were noted, and the examiners wondered if the claims of, for example, the National Superannuation Scheme might mean some conflict between requirements for support of young and old respectively.

II

OPENING STATEMENT
BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION FOR NEW ZEALAND

The Hon. M. L. Wellington described the economic context for education in New Zealand. The country was still grappling with the repercussions of two oil shocks, particularly that of 1979, which seriously affected the balance of payments. Prices for primary products in international markets had been sluggish. For every dollar New Zealand earned externally, seventy cents came from the sale of primary products. Policies of international protection in New Zealand's traditional markets made for additional difficulty, and the international recession created a difficult overall context, but one which the government confidently believed could be overcome.

Internally three issues were of particular concern to the New Zealand government and people. First, inflation, which at 15 per cent was much too high. Second, an internal deficit which represented about 6 per cent of GDP, and which inevitably had repercussions for education which ranked number three in the list of government expenditure. Third, the fact that whilst 5 per cent of the work force were unemployed, 60 per cent of that proportion were younger people.

The government had taken a number of decisions in response to this situation. First, it had maintained a very strict policy of restraint on government expenditure, requiring a cut of 3 per cent in all departmental allocations, which in a total of $1 500m meant $50m from education. In June 1982 a wage/price freeze had been imposed to run for twelve months; it might well go on longer. Third, the 1982 budget had provided for substantial taxation relief in the order of nearly a billion dollars. Fourth, government expenditure was being directed towards the productive sector of the economy—to diversify the agricultural base and to develop an indigenous energy programme. As a result of the latter, the New Zealand economy would be on its feet in the mid-1980s, and far less dependent upon external markets for liquid fuel. As far as education was concerned, the impact of the 3 per cent cut was one of restraint rather than sharp reduction.

The Minister now turned to some of the impressions that Professor Karmel had reported. He agreed about the importance of the multi-cultural nature of New Zealand's society. Maoris, Europeans and Pacific Islanders had all come to New Zealand because they sought a better future. Thus egalitarianism was the prevalent social philosophy, and education was seen as an important means of achieving and maintaining that end. Equality of provision and opportunity was a major priority for the Department of Education. It had always been so, and would always be so. Reference had been made to absence of structural change. In a country of only 3.2 million, major structural changes could be very costly. New Zealand had relied upon a process of constant modification. At the moment, one of its priorities was to assist young people at risk of unemployment in an uncertain market. The government had established a task force to examine this problem in detail, which had now reported and from which certain decisions were soon expected. The curriculum at secondary school level was being reviewed in order to make better provision for young people without academic ambitions, and to give greater emphasis to the vocational aspects of education, without going too far in being job specific.

Finally, in response to the point made by Professor Karmel about national superannuation, the Minister emphasized that the level of provision for the old was in total accord with the New Zealand tradition, old age pensions having been produced as early as 1898. The scheme should not be seen in a narrow financial sense. It produced many other benefits, shielding the old from several ancillary social difficulties that would be associated with poverty. Nor was it true that the scheme had been financed at the expense of New Zealand young people. In 1975, expenditure on education in New Zealand had been $595m. As a result of the 1982 budget, it stood at $1 628m. Educational expenditure had trebled over the same period that national superannuation had been introduced.

The Minister also felt that in looking at participation rates, the high proportion of part-time students in New Zealand had to be remembered.

III

SCHOOL STRUCTURES, CURRICULUM AND EXAMINATIONS

Question 1

The present division of the primary and secondary cycles into a eight-year primary school (including intermediate) and a relatively short secondary cycle has many implications for the planning of curriculum and the role of examinations. It would also inhibit the kind of structural reform of upper secondary education that has recently taken place in many other OECD countries. Does the Department envisage any shift of policy in respect of the articulation of these cycles, the functions of the intermediate school and the sequence of experiences that make up a full primary and secondary education?

Question 2

There is general satisfaction in New Zealand with primary schooling. At the same time, a significant percentage of pupils is unable to cope adequately with the demands of the secondary school. Is the Department satisfied that enough is done to identify under-achieving pupils during the early years of primary schooling with a view to helping them overcome their learning difficulties and subsequently benefit from secondary schooling?

Question 3

Should the opportunity *for any child to learn the Maori language be available in each primary school or school area? If so, what kind of provision should be made from what age and what are the implications for pre-service and in-service teacher training?*

Question 4

The examiners were frequently informed that the curriculum of secondary schools and the pattern of examinations are dominated by university entrance requirements. Are there any plans to reform the curriculum and the examination system with a view to making them more appropriate to the needs of that majority of students who do not continue their education into the sixth and seventh forms and who are unlikely to proceed to tertiary education, at least in the immediate future?

Question 5

What would be the implications of the creation of the proposed "Board of Secondary Studies" for the organisation and relationships of sixth- and seventh-year work in the schools, with particular reference to the future of the Sixth-Form Certificate, University Entrance and the Bursaries' examinations.

Question 6

> *It appears that the present widespread use of norm-referenced testing has the effect of discouraging a substantial number of young people from continuing their education and training by virtue of their automatic failure. Are any changes envisaged in the pattern of such tests which would have an incentive rather than a disincentive effect? Has the Department evaluated the merits and demerits of competency testing by means of criterion-referenced tests?*

Dr William Taylor, Rapporteur for the review, suggested that discussion might concentrate on three themes: structural reform of secondary education; the ethos and values of secondary schools; and examinations. All these were felt by the examiners to be important contextual factors in the development of post-secondary provision in New Zealand.

On structures, the examiners had looked with interest at the history and current work of intermediate schools. That such schools were classified as being within the primary stage of education made for a relatively shorter secondary cycle than in some other countries. Leaving aside the particular merits of intermediate schools (the work of which clearly commanded a large measure of support among New Zealand educators) their existence seemed to make the possibility of structural reform at the upper end of secondary education more rather than less difficult. In some overseas countries, where non-traditional forms of upper secondary education were developing, separate institutions were being established for young people between the ages of 16 and 19. This would hardly be possible in New Zealand, given the shortness of the existing secondary cycle. In this respect, the intermediate schools affected the scope for post-secondary reform.

Also relevant in this context were the ethos and values of the secondary school. The examiners had formed a view that in New Zealand these were strongly traditional. The use of this word was not intended as a criticism. On the other hand, many New Zealand educators themselves recognised that if the needs of the *majority* of upper secondary schools were to be met, a rather different curriculum and approach was needed than had hitherto characterised much of the provision made at this stage. This was not simply a matter of curriculum. There was evidence of a great deal of work being put in to curriculum reform. But was this enough? Were there not also a number of questions relating to the ethos and values of the secondary school, which will also need attention if greater involvement and more positive response from so-called "non-academic" youth were to be secured?

Third, there was the problem of examinations. These powerfully influenced the work of the secondary schools, and there were examinations in each of the last years of the secondary cycle. The examiners had necessarily to be tentative about the form and direction of any revision of the existing examination structure. It would be wrong to come to any hard and fast conclusions on the basis of a brief visit and study of relevant documents. That something needed to be done, especially concerning the status and influence of the University Entrance examination, appeared to be widely accepted. Progress, however, had been slow. The examiners would therefore be glad to know the views of the Minister and his colleagues on these three issues—structure, ethos and values, and examinations—which they saw as contextual to the main thrust of the brief that they had been given.

In replying to Dr Taylor's introduction, the *Minister* emphasized that the intermediate school was a product of a desire for change in the structure of New Zealand education of about sixty years ago. Its existence had been the subject of considerable debate within New Zealand. The intermediate school was seen as a bridge between the primary school and the greater specialisation of the secondary school, serving to introduce children between the ages of 11 to 13 to the kinds of subject matter that would be a dominant feature of their subsequent schooling. Science, technical subjects, wood work, metal work, home economics and a second language were all introduced at this stage. It should be pointed out that boys now do home economics and girls do workshop technical subjects. The New Zealand authorities saw the whole ethos of the secondary school as being to produce a good all-rounder, an individual with well developed skills but with other important strengths, such as a knowledge of other cultures, experience of a variety of extra-curricular activities. Questions about whether or not the curriculum was too academic had not been much to the fore during periods of full employment. It was true, however, that now that employers were being more selective, and there was a *clearer* perception of the needs that were emerging in New Zealand's society, there was a need to modify existing curricula and introduce some new elements. Towards that end the agricultural syllabus was being revised, and elements of horticulture being introduced. Workshop technology and home economics syllabuses were also being reviewed and revised. Transition from school to work programmes were being put in place. The New Zealand authorities felt that it was change of this kind that was more likely to be effective than highly costly and problematic structural reform.

The Minister acknowledged that there was a considerable debate in New Zealand about the examination system, which involved not only educationists, but also employers, unions and others. The system was complex, and capable of being misunderstood. The School Certificate, taken in the third year of secondary school, was not university influenced or dominated. Many of its forty-eight subjects were of a practical nature. The University Entrance (UE) examination is in the first instance internally assessed. The UE prescriptions were under constant review. The Sixth-Form Certificate option existed as an alternative to UE, but there was no doubt that the New Zealand community attached much greater importance to the latter rather than to the former.

The Minister's comments on these issues were developed by *Mr Renwick, Director-General of Education for New Zealand*. He underlined what the Minister had said about the intermediate schools as constituting a major structural reform. The first had been established in 1922. Sixty years later, three-quarters of the total population spent their seventh and eighth school years in an intermediate school or an alternative organisation in country districts. Structural change was often fuelled by major demographic shifts of a kind that had not in fact occurred in New Zealand, and which were not in prospect. Within the New Zealand "education family"—which, like all families, had its squabbles and disagreements—there had been a good deal of debate on the question of the intermediate school and structural change. Any suggestion for the introduction of such change at the end of the secondary school cycle would be a matter for considerable dispute. Some felt that a tertiary college might embrace the last two years of secondary and the first year of university studies. Other interest groups were very nervous at such a prospect. It would be a pity, however, if the impression was given that there had been *no* major structural change in New Zealand education. The development of the technical institute and the community college had been just such a change. Twenty five years ago the only institutions of post-secondary education were the six universities and six teachers colleges. During that period a completely new set of institutions had been developed. These provided an alternative range of educational opportunities beyond the secondary school, and also protected the universities from demands that might otherwise have been insupportable. The development of the technical institutes and community colleges had also spread opportunity into parts of the country outside the six major population centres. But there were few signs of major structural reform taking place at the end of the secondary cycle. This was not just a consequence of the existence of intermediate schools, but reflected other priorities within the New Zealand system. In the view of the Director-General, structural aspects were less important than some other matters that had been raised in the Examiners' Report, such as the ethos and values and the quality of educational provision. It was on these that he felt attention should be focused. Limited resources were best spent on educational products rather than "structural packages".

The meeting went on to consider a number of particular aspects of the Examiners' Report and questions. In reply to a question from the Rapporteur about the possibility of introducing criterion-referenced tests, by means of which a large number of children might be given a sense of worthwhile achievement, the *Minister of Education* argued that such a move would not be welcome in New Zealand, where the existing pattern of norm-referenced testing maintained a valuable "competitive edge". To move away from such norm-referenced examinations risked standards. In order to avoid that risk, but at the same time to recognise the new needs that the education system had to meet, educators in New Zealand had begun to sit down with employers, unions and others to work out a system of documentation which would provide a better picture of an individual's all-round capacity. Furthermore, the termly report, provided for every parent three times a year, was a valuable confidential document, covering the whole range of the pupil's performance at school. Use was sometimes made of such reports in application for jobs. Students were also supplied with testimonials when leaving school.

The Minister's points on the relationships between secondary schools and employers and unions were amplified by *Mr J. Ross*, the Assistant Director-General of education, who went on to speak about studies being made of school-leaver documentation Employers still relied heavily on UE results, and officers of the Department were talking with them about the possibility of giving greater weight to other qualifications at the end of the secondary stage.

In reply to questions from the Delegates from Sweden and Canada, the Director-General explained that the initial concept of the intermediate school in the early 1920s had been of a three-tier system, comprising twelve years of compulsory education on a 6:3:3 basis. The original suggestion that six years in the primary school would be followed by three years junior high school education proved difficult to implement in the economic conditions of the late 1920s and early 1930s, and there was also some dissent among primary teachers.

A number of Delegates, drawing on the experiences of their own countries, expressed concern about action to meet the needs of that proportion of the secondary age group for whom existing school provision seemed inadequate. Such proportions had been estimated at anything from 15 to 40 per cent of the age group.

Other Delegates were concerned with what had been said in the Examiners' Report, and in the statement by the Minister, about curriculum change. *The Delegate of the United Kingdom* wondered if the process of curriculum change might be accelerated if an agency existed outside government to advise the Minister on curriculum and examinations. Points were also made about multi-culturalism, the availability of teaching in the Maori language, and the problem of maintaining the uniqueness of cultural groups, without at the same time isolating and alienating them from the predominant culture.

In reply, *the Minister* gave details of training that was being provided for teachers to undertake courses in Maori studies. Twenty one advisers in the teaching of the Maori language had been appointed, itinerant teachers of Maori visited a large number of primary schools, a Maori language syllabus committee was at

103

work, and Maori language readers were available in primary schools. A total of 182 secondary schools provided courses in Maori, which was an examinable subject in School Certificate. Even in schools where Maori was not a subject on the curriculum, Maori culture was incorporated in other subjects and the importance of multi-culturalism was stressed. The Department of Maori Affairs had taken steps to establish pre-school centres where Maori was the language of communication, in an attempt to maintain the indigenous language among young children. The Maori success rate in examinations was improving, although there was still a long way to go. The Maori people had a substantial number of leaders in the professions, the arts, the community and in politics. There were six Maori members in the 92-strong New Zealand Parliament. Within urban areas, *maraes* were being developed to provide a focus for Maori cultural and linguistic studies and activities.

Delegates were also concerned about the training of teachers for the intermediate schools. The Minister explained how teachers for the intermediate level were trained as for primary school, but with additional specialisation in, for example, a second language, crafts, home economics and other post-primary subjects. There was also substantial co-operation between intermediate schools and high schools in the same area. This had been accelerated by the introduction of Form 1 to 4 syllabuses in core subject areas such as mathematics, social studies and science, part of which was the responsibility of the intermediate school, the rest of the secondary. It had to be observed that only a very small proportion of young people left school at the minimum legal age, after only two years of secondary education. The proportion in 1982 was 3.4 per cent, and many of these went into further training as apprentices. As in other countries, there was a tendency for the secondary stage of education to be extended. It was over-simplistic to suggest, as the examiners had seemed to do in their report, that some young people were "failed by the system". The issues were much more complex, since the ability of young people to do well in the school turned on home environment, family and community factors which were not merely or exclusively the concern of the education system.

The Assistant Director-General for New Zealand expressed some surprise at references in the report and in the ensuing discussion about slowness of curriculum change. Many New Zealand teachers had been saying that the Department was going too fast. Too much was happening all at once. Furthermore, the teachers were themselves very much involved in the process of curriculum change. A great deal of sorting through of ideas, experimentation and dissemination was undertaken at local level. An independent agency, as suggested by the Delegate for the United Kingdom, was hardly necessary in a system that already involved large numbers of people in discussion of such matters and which provided networks by means of which feedback of proposals might be provided. An aspect of change had been the extent to which subjects in the School Certificate were fully or partly internally assessed. Fifteen subjects fell into this category, although external moderation was regarded as necessary to ensure comparability of standards from school to school. Elaborate moderation systems had also been established, including reference tests, visitations for practical subjects and the like. Internal assessment is being introduced gradually in subjects where resources are available and teachers felt able to handle this form of assessment. But he wished to emphasize that the existence of a national system of moderation from one subject to another is part of New Zealand's policy.

In answer to a question from the *Finnish Delegate* about bilingual experiments the school system, *the Minister of Education* indicated that the whole question of bilingual education had, in accordance with New Zealand practice, been approached cautiously and pragmatically. In a national system, a successful innovation in one area had to be capable of being generalised throughout the community. Over the last ten years some useful experience had been acquired in developing bilingual programmes in rural districts where the composition of the school was largely Maori and—a not unimportant point—from one tribal dialect. This has meant careful co-operation not only with local schools, but with local communities.

There is also an interesting development among Maori people themselves of what they call "language nests" as part of pre-school experience. Children who have taken part in these "language nests" would be entering the school system next year, and appropriate efforts would be made to build upon that experience. In socially and ethnically mixed communities there are inevitably anxieties about language development of this kind. Bilingual experiments in the rural communities are not necessarily generalisable to the cities.

IV

PREPARATION FOR THE TRANSITION TO WORKING LIFE

Question 7

Evidence from abroad suggests that many of the decisions and attitudes of young people pertinent to subsequent occupational choice are formed during the early years of adolescence. To what extent does the unusual length of the primary cycle assist or inhibit occupational choices and should vocational and personal guidance and counselling be available on a systematic basis from the age of 12 or 13?

Question 8

What measures have recently been adopted or are under consideration for countering the effects of gender stereotyping in the primary, intermediate and secondary schools on the subsequent choice of occupation by girls?

Question 9

Is it considered necessary to provide teachers with opportunities for some direct experience of working life outside the educational environment in order that their work with those adolescents who will not pursue courses at the tertiary level should be informed by appropriate experience?

Question 10

Technical institutes and community colleges currently exist in 21 centres. Does the Department envisage any increase in the number of such institutions or in the provision of alternative learning settings to meet the needs of

- a) *apprenticeship training which currently caters for only 9 per cent of school leavers,*
- b) *education and training for the non-apprenticeable trades,*
- c) *other forms of skill training and development, including generic skill courses? In particular, does it foresee an expanding role for the community schools, adult education agencies, the maraes and kokhiri centres?*

Question 11

How far has the Department disaggregated the student populations that will make up the proposed increase in the number of technical institute and community college students? Is the development of these institutions from about 20 000 full-time students in 1981 to 32 000 equivalents by about 1995, intended to be additional to the maintenance of open entry policies in universities and other tertiary institutions?

Question 12

Is the Department satisfied that tertiary institutions have the capacity and flexibility to satisfy the anticipated future local needs for short training courses, especially for crash courses? If not, what alternative provision is being designed to meet the rising demand for short courses?

Question 13

What assumptions are made by the public authorities about the nature —recessional, frictional or structural—of youth employment in New Zealand and what implications for education and training policies do they draw from those assumptions?

Question 14

Is the distribution of functions and resources between the Departments of Education, Labour, Social Welfare and Maori Affairs calculated to provide an adequate level of advice and assistance for those groups with special needs and problems in relation to the labour market?

Professor Ingrid Eide stressed that the examiners had fully recognised the many uncertainties that New Zealand society, in common with societies elsewhere in the world, faced concerning their economic and social future. Schooling was not simply a preparation for working life, it was itself part of life. Education must increasingly be seen as a lifelong activity, and one which continues in parallel with work experience and the development of an individual's career. Transition from school to work did not happen suddenly. It reflected a gradual building of an identity, in the shaping of which teachers, parents and community all played important parts.

The examiners had been impressed by the way in which educational institutions in New Zealand were genuinely multi-generational. Adults were to be found in secondary schools. There were a variety of opportunities for young people at post-secondary level. In this situation, it was desirable that teachers themselves should have a broader experience of working life than a conventional teaching career afforded.

The examiners had been particularly interested, as was consistent with their brief, with innovations introduced into post-secondary provision. Some aspects of these were inspiring and exciting. Traditional modes of training, such as the apprenticeship, were under review. Some of the more intensive efforts of training that were being introduced, and which were enabling the number of hours of instruction before qualified status was achieved to be substantially reduced seemed to be very efficient, but efficiency was not everything. It was important that industry should make its contribution to the training process, but the terms on which such contribution was accepted should be consistent with fundamental educational values.

Youth unemployment was obviously a preoccupation in New Zealand as in other OECD countries. A disturbing proportion of the young unemployed appeared to be from minority groups. The examiners wondered if this placed the cooperation that government was seeking to obtain from these groups at risk.

The Minister of Education responded to the questions that Professor Eide had raised. Mention had already been made of the growth in alternative forms of post-secondary education over the last twenty years. Even within the last seven years, some 800 additional tutors had been appointed in post-school institutions

—technical institutes, community colleges and senior technical divisions. So far, however, there had been no reference in the discussions to the Correspondence Technical Institute, which enabled adults to take courses of their choice by correspondence. There were some 30 000 enrolled. Furthermore, the Extra-Mural Division of Massey University offered extra-mural university level courses for adults, many of whom are teachers, and there are some 8 000 registered students. Even beyond this, evening classes were offered in some 185 secondary schools. The examiners had already noted that some adults were attending day-time courses in secondary schools in order to upgrade their general educational qualifications prior to obtaining specialist qualifications. The New Zealand Correspondence School offered programmes for every level from pre-school to secondary, and some 9 000 adults were taking advantage of these opportunities. Within a population of only 3.2 million, this seemed to the Minister to constitute a wide range of alternative opportunities to those provided by means of full- and part-time courses in universities and in the technical institutes.

Reference had been made in the Examiners' Report to the existence of the REAPs (Rural Education Activities Programmes) in rural areas, which provide regional backup for existing educational provision at every level from pre-school to adult. Maori people had been helped to establish kokhiri centres for the pursuit of arts and crafts activities. These were very much neighbourhood initiatives. None of this was static. Even since the examiners' visit, a task force on youth unemployment had been set up, and its recommendations would bear upon the range of opportunities available at a post-secondary level.

The Rapporteur and a number of delegates from Member countries then directed questions to the Minister and his officials concerning their assumption of full employment, the division of responsibility among employers, schools and the Department of Education for apprenticeship training, and the problem of those young people whom the Examiners' Report had suggested felt themselves, or were felt to be "failed by the system".

In responding to these points, the Minister emphasized that the prospect of long-term unemployment in New Zealand is neither accepted by the New Zealand government nor by the New Zealand people. By the middle of the decade it was hoped that the difficulties referred to in the Minister's initial statement would have been overcome. Energy projects currently under development would have come on stream, a substantial diversification into horticulture will have been achieved, and—a point not hitherto made in the course of the meeting—substantial modification of plant and industrial practices will have taken place within industry. The development of indigenous energy sources, and horticultural diversification, which was very labour intensive, would together create new avenues of employment. Horticulture had the added advantage of lending itself readily to female employment. The reality of these developments was reflected in the way in which in Massey University and the Lincoln Agricultural College, recruitment to diploma courses in horticultural subjects had increased by 23 per cent in the last two years. The young people enrolled had excellent job prospects at the end of their courses.

The government's perception was that youth unemployment such as was being currently experienced was not long term. All its planning and policy making was geared to that assumption.

The Minister then turned to the question of youth whom, it was alleged, had been "failed by the system". As he had previously explained, he did not accept this perception of the situation.

The Assistant Director-General for Education amplified the Minister's response in respect of apprenticeship. He emphasized the New Zealand system was based upon that of the United Kingdom, and was quite different from that of most countries of continental Europe. The contract was with an employer, who undertook to provide training. The theoretical aspect of such training was undertaken on an off-the-job basis in a technical institute. Trade unions and employers were currently responding to the government discussion on the subject of apprenticeship, and among issues under consideration were the introduction of group apprenticeship schemes, modifications to the length of training, the possibility of apprentices obtaining experience with a variety of different employers, and the practicability of some movement across the apprenticeship system from one occupational category to another. Apprenticeship was not in itself enough to cope with the needs of young people, especially those whom it was alleged had been "failed by the system". There was a need for other initiatives of a safety net kind, such as were either in place or under development.

Mrs Eide pressed the New Zealand representatives on the question of job opportunities for women, with special reference to the danger of stereotyped occupational choices within the school, and on overall provision made for young people who had training needs, but who were not catered for by the existing apprenticeship system. In replying, *the Minister of Education* re-emphasized that New Zealand placed considerable emphasis on training of the kind to which Mrs Eide referred, and one element in this strategy was the continued improvement of an already widespread and effective pattern of vocational advice and counselling. At the upper levels of the secondary schools young women were being increasingly encouraged to take up areas of study and employment that were traditionally male-dominated, such as engineering, medicine and dentistry. Half of those training to be dentists were now women. There was clearly much work to be done to influence parental and societal expectations about the place that women can and should play in community life.

Responding to further points, the Minister said that there was no question that New Zealand was now giving greater attention and emphasis to the educational needs of those whose capacity lay principally in non-academic fields. As he had already said, he did not feel that large-scale structural change was the best use of resources in coping with these needs. Much of what government had done in his time as Minister had been directed to selective qualitative improvements, specifically to concerns such as those enunciated by the examiners in their report and in questions under discussion at the meeting. The foundation of a good all-round education would always require to be kept in good repair, but at various points in the system there was a need to sharpen responses and to make them more specific in terms of current socio-economic realities. As the examiners had noted, a substantial increase in provision of educational opportunities at post-secondary level was planned, principally in the technical institutes and community colleges. There were six main factors generating these changes:

i) the diversification of the New Zealand economy, which demanded new skills and both individual and institutional flexibility;

ii) technological changes which made existing skills obsolete and demanded a substantial measure of retraining;

iii) the impact of apprenticeship requirements;

iv) of no less importance, the need for new courses in non-apprenticeable trades;

v) growing sophistication of training in the area of social welfare and social services, requiring higher-level training for, for example, nurses, not all of which could be undertaken in hospitals;

vi) the possibility that new technologies, as yet unforeseen, might influence future patterns of employment, and to respond to which the work force would need to be both flexible and adaptable.

The morning session was then adjourned.

109

V

ACCESS AND RESOURCES

Question 15

Is it proposed that in the future New Zealand will continue to offer a place in tertiary education to every student who is qualified and requests admission? What are the financial implications of this policy in relation to current expenditure forecasts?

Question 16

What action do the public authorities propose to take in relation to the present lack of coherence and consistency in the provision of financial support for young people?

Question 17

Is the Department satisfied that the recent and foreseen reductions in teacher training quotas will leave sufficient capacity in place to enable any subsequent opportunities for qualitative improvements to be made, for adequate in-service provision to be developed, and for new needs, such as the training of technical teachers, to be met?

Question 18

To what extent do existing regulations and conventions encourage or inhibit the utilisation in schools of uncertificated teachers from the local community?

Question 19

Does the machinery exist to ensure that such additional resources as may be made available through an expanding economy or the demographic downturn are used selectively *in order to meet particular needs rather than applied across the board, for example, to reduce overall pupil/teacher ratios?*

Question 20

To what extent would the creation of structures in urban areas similar in function to the Rural Education Activities Programmes be conducive to the selective targeting of resources—for example, towards disadvantaged groups—that the examiners have elsewhere suggested may be desirable at a time of financial exigency?

Dr Taylor drew particular attention to the existence of the "open admissions" policy to tertiary education in New Zealand. The examiners were particularly interested to know if, in the face of resource constraint, the New

Zealand authorities intended to maintain the principle of open admission. In other countries, a problem had arisen from the fact that any university system based upon principles of open entry that faced financial restraint had to choose between a diminishing unit of resource, with possible implications for teaching and research standards and, on the other hand, the possibilities that, if protecting the teaching and research base left student aspirations unsatisfied, there would be greater demand for university-level courses to be mounted and offered elsewhere.

Second, the examiners had detected that in New Zealand, as in many other countries, there was a certain lack of coherence and consistency in the provision of financial support for young people. The Minister had referred to the across-the-board cut in departmental expenditures that had been imposed to respond to the external economic situation. A problem elsewhere had been that when such across-the-board cuts were agreed, savings in one expenditure department tended to create costs in another, not all of which were recognised at the time the cuts were imposed. At individual level, this showed up in, for example, the relationship of unemployment payments to student support. The examiners wished to know if the New Zealand authorities were content with the present level of co-ordination that existed between decision-making on these complex but interrelated issues. Had an overall cost-benefit analysis been made, to avoid the potentially serious consequences of decisions on an isolated department basis? This was, he felt, an issue of much wider significance than to the current examination of New Zealand education policy.

The examiners were aware that, since their visit, a number of policy decisions had been taken about teacher training. It had been decided to retain all six teacher training institutions in place, with student populations as small as 300. Were the New Zealand authorities satisfied that these numbers were viable in relation to the range of subject specialisation that could be offered, the number of staff employed in each specialisation and the general quality of the educational experience available to students?

Finally, the examiners were concerned to know the views of the New Zealand authorities about existing machinery for targeting resources to areas of real need, and means of ensuring that any opportunities for new or enhanced expenditure were used selectively in ways that would produce greatest overall benefit.

In replying to the questions raised by the examiners in their report under this section, and to the amplifications provided by the Rapporteur, the *Minister of Education* stated that in New Zealand universities the principle of open entry is, and was likely to remain, sacrosanct. There had always been quotas in highly specialised fields such as medicine, dentistry and engineering. The system of university funding, by means of a quinquennial block grant, enabled the University Grants Committee to return to government for supplementary support if student numbers exceeded the projections at the time of the original quinquennial negotiations by one thousand or more. This "trigger" clause had been used twice since 1980, and in both cases government had responded.

The reason why it had decided to retain all six teacher training institutions, even with much reduced numbers, was principally the relationship between the locality in which a teacher is trained and the place in which he or she subsequently seeks employment. It was thus essential to retain a training presence in Dunedin, because the Southern part of the South Island had always proved a difficult area to which to attract teachers. The option of integrating teachers' colleges with universities had been looked at very carefully, but had been decided against for two reasons. First, the training of teachers was the responsibility of the Department of Education, and this did not fit easily with the autonomy of the universities. Second, the university approach to education was necessarily somewhat more theoretical, and it had always been the wish of the Department to ensure a strong practical orientation in the preparation of future classroom teachers. There were, in any case, close links between the colleges and the universities, and many students training for work in primary schools took university courses on a part-time basis and worked for a Bachelor of Education degree.

It should also be pointed out that although technical institute entry requirements were liberal, there were quotas on certain courses determined by forecasts on manpower requirements, e.g. in the case of nurses. This was a further qualification of the principle of open entry.

On the issue of financial support, greater coherence had been achieved by placing teacher education students on the same tertiary support scales as those of other kinds of university and technical institute course, and all tertiary students were in receipt of the same form and level of financial assistance.

Finally, the Minister agreed entirely with the examiners' emphasis on the need for selective targeting of resources. Such money as was available should not be spread thinly in the form of, for example, general reductions of pupil/teacher ratios. This was entirely in accordance with the New Zealand government's thinking, and had been pursued since 1978. The Minister's comments on open entry and the universities were developed by the *Chairman of the University Grants Committee, Dr Alan Johns*. He wished to make clear that the principle of open entry had never meant open entry for students to take whatever course they chose. Entry was open to those with the requisite qualifications to go to a university and to obtain a university education, but not in a specified subject. Expensive subjects such as medicine had always had quotas. The selectivity of such faculties now placed increasing emphasis on the need for potential university students to stay on at secondary school for a seventh year, in order to achieve the necessary standards.

The universities were currently under financial pressure. There had been no indexation for inflation in non-salary items in the last quinquennium. Some 85 per cent of overall expenditure was on academic and non-academic staffing. In some areas staff were not being replaced as they retired or resigned. Such resource constaint argued for greater efficiency in the use of staff and in teaching methods, and reviews were at present being carried out of a number of resource areas in universities. In a few cases staff/student ratios were now very adverse. A rapid expansion of demand from students for places, and from industry for qualified people, had made it difficult to recruit sufficient numbers of well qualified staff. Thus such adverse ratios were not necessarily a consequence of current financial constraints. A measure of central control over course development in universities was retained through the UGC Curriculum Committee. The powers of this committee were currently under review. In practice, each university retained a substantial measure of autonomy. There was also an attempt being made to look at the provision of courses across the whole range of post-secondary institutions, both university and technical institutes, although, as the examiners had noted, there was only limited overlap in provisions between the sectors. There was some scepticism within the universities about the usefulness of detailed manpower planning in other than in a small number of sectors where there was a single or small number of employers and demand could be usefully predicted. Past experience of such manpower planning had not been altogether happy. Universities were conscious of the need to maintain and to strengthen their research base, and there was now a good deal of contract research being placed with universities, especially in the field of energy. It was important that the research floor provided through UGC funds should be adequate to support and attract such outside money.

The Delegate from Sweden wondered whether the distinction that was maintained between university and non-university institutions of tertiary education in New Zealand was viable in the face of, on the one hand, the undoubted regional role played by universities, and, on the other, the national function in specific fields of some of the technical and community colleges. In responding, the *Director General of Education* saw the development of technical institutes in New Zealand over the past twenty five years as a means for protecting the principle of open entry to the universities, although the points made by the Chairman of the Grants Committee about the interpretation of the open entry principle had to be borne in mind. A decision on the part of a young person to go to a technical institute in order to follow a course that had a more or less clear vocational purpose did not deny him or her the opportunity for later university study. The age profiles of New Zealand universities were very interesting in this respect. There were many mature and part-time students. There was considerable flexibility between the two sectors of post-secondary provision. The point made by the Swedish Delegate was particularly relevant in relation to decisions yet to be made about the development of post-basic work in such fields as e.g. the health sciences. A number of diploma courses in health sciences, nursing, physiotherapy, occupational therapy and pharmacy had been very satisfactorily taught in technical institutes. A demand was now emerging for post-basic training in these fields. Hitherto there had been a general understanding that universities would deal with degree-level studies and above, and the technical institutes would teach at the sub-degree level. Should the post-diploma programmes in such specialisms be developed in the technical institutes, where an appropriate infrastructure already existed, or in the universities? Answers to questions of this kind were still in process of evolution.

The *Delegate of Finland* enquired as to the expansion of in-service training opportunities for teachers in New Zealand, with particular reference to whether these were voluntary or obligatory, and the provision of sabbatical years for teachers. The Minister replied that limited in-service opportunities existed for all teachers, but that these had been somewhat diminished or reduced as a result of recent expenditure restraints. Within the course of a school year, primary and secondary teachers would be entitled to an average of two in-service days. Sabbatical leave, of the kind that was available to university teachers, was not open to teachers in schools and other professionals. As resource allocation improved, and capacity in the teachers colleges became available, it was envisaged that they would take on a greater proportion of in-service work.

The *Delegate of Germany* referred to the growing proportion of qualified manpower in his own country that was emerging from universities rather than other forms of post-secondary training. Such graduates had high occupational and financial aspirations, and it seemed doubtful if these could be met in the future labour market. The *Minister* thought that the trend in his own country was precisely opposite to that of Germany. The proportion of qualified men and women coming on to the labour market who had been educated in technical institutes and community colleges was increasing. Future employment opportunities at the technician level were somewhat better than those for graduates. The growth of courses in technical institutes was subject to close government supervision, and had to satisfy such criteria as:

i) will the course contribute to the country's export capacity,
ii) will the course lessen New Zealand's dependence upon imports, and
iii) is there an adequate job opportunity for the student once he has completed his course.

To this extent, therefore, there was an important element of manpower planning in post-secondary provision in the technical institutes and community colleges.

The Minister wished to reject any suggestion that in-service provision for teachers, although relatively modest, would be still further reduced. No such decision had been taken. The reduction that had occurred had arisen solely out of overall expenditure restraints and need to find, in short order, a way of saving $50m from the education budget. The New Zealand government was determined to protect the essential work of the teacher for the pupil in the classroom. Structured in-serviced training, of the kind provided by universities, teachers colleges and the Department of Education was not the only kind of provision in this field. There were other ways on which New Zealand teachers kept themselves abreast of recent developments. Informal groupings of teachers came together of their own initiative in many localities, and made successful attempts to keep themselves up-to-date. Teachers formed an important element in the extra-mural enrolments of Massey University. The national network of inspectors and advisers were constantly in and about the schools talking with teachers in the classroom, passing on knowledge and expertise. The Minister also thought that teachers, in common with other professionals, had a responsibility to become involved in in-service training in vacation time to a much greater degree. Replacement costs were a major element in in-service provision. He hoped that the teachers' unions and organisations might approach this problem with a greater degree of seriousness and determination than they had so far demonstrated.

The Rapporteur pressed the Minister further on the subject of viability of teacher training units, and on whether the $50m savings that had been extracted from Education really constituted savings at all, or would result in passing on costs to other spending departments. In this connection he drew attention to the Examiners' Report (page 82), which raised the issue of how student support in post-compulsory education should be harmonised with other forms of income maintenance in a way that would reconcile the sometimes conflicting aims of minimising public expenditure, maintaining equity, offering encouragement for further training and preventing abuse.

In reply, the *New Zealand representative* said that they were satisfied that inter-departmental co-operation and liaison, and the fact that Ministers serve on a variety of Cabinet committees not necessarily concerned or dealing with only their own portfolio did ensure a degree of cross-referencing necessary to prevent difficulties of the kind referred to. This cross-referencing also applied at officer level.

On the question of student support and employment benefit, these were seen in New Zealand as being of a quite different order. There was a clear difference of philosophy between the two. Unemployment benefit was a compensation for loss of wages, and a form of income maintenance. Payments made to students attending tertiary institutions were grants in aid, students being expected to supplement these either from parental resources or from part-time employment. Grants in aid had not been and would not be inflation-proofed in the present economic climate, although there was a hardship provision which could be invoked by students who found themselves in great difficulty. It was the Minister's perception that the 3 per cent across-the-board cut that had been imposed in New Zealand had not done irrepairable damage to education. In part, it could be absorbed by the demographic downturn that had occurred in New Zealand as in many other OECD countries. A substantial measure of the 3 per cent cut had been met by reducing expenditure on capital items. Seven years ago these had constituted 15 per cent of the total vote. They now constituted only 6 per cent, a decline in real terms of 70 per cent. The rationalisation of teacher training and the placing of teacher trainees on the same support level as other students also produced substantial savings. In broad terms, the 3 per cent had been extracted from what might be referred to as the "edge" of educational activity rather than its heartland.

On the particular question of the viability of teachers colleges, it had been decided that if enrolment fell below 300, staff would be maintained at the 300 level.

This provided something of a safety net in staffing small colleges. Of the six colleges, Dunedin was the most vulnerable. One other college could fall below 400, the others would be 400, 500 and 600. There were few qualms about their viability. These colleges also had good working relationships with their universities, and would be able to obtain support from them. Although there was a degree of agnosticism about the viability of a 300-strong college, discussions with college principals at the time the matter was under consideration had indicated that they had believed that a college of this size would indeed be viable.

The Delegate from Australia had questions to ask about the way in which a reduction in teacher education opportunities might affect social mobility, especially that of women and young people from country areas. The special level of financial assistance that had been provided for teacher education trainees may have been an important factor in encouraging such mobility. In Australia, it had been found that reductions in teacher education intakes had indeed been felt particularly among these groups. The students concerned did not seem to be able to move easily into other fields of post-secondary education.

The *Minister* said that there had indeed been a concern that when the rather generous system of teacher education support had been removed, this might act as a deterrent to good recruitment. So far there had been no evidence of this. Another factor which ought to be mentioned is that some of those who had previously entered teacher education had been attracted specifically because of the higher rate of student support, and did not intend to carry on in the classroom once they had completed their initial obligations. Local selection committees, which were responsible for choosing teacher education students who would receive tertiary support grants, were under firm instructions to be sensitive to points such as those mentioned by the Australian and other delegates. A good mix of social and ethnic background would need to be ensured. This matter would be carefully monitored.

New Zealand representatives, in response to further questions from delegates about transferability of courses between teachers colleges and universities, emphasized the ready availability of part-time study opportunities for teacher trainees and serving teachers. They also stressed the basic tertiary support grant of $27 was provided "with no questions asked", a further grant of $23 per week was available for students over 20 years of age or of whatever age obliged to live away from home, and a hardship grant of an additional $10 per week was available under certain circumstances. These included the higher cost of some courses, where materials and equipment had to be purchased by the student. Students are also required to pay one-quarter of the relatively modest level of university fees, the balance being met by the State.

VI

PROCEDURES AND MECHANISMS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING

Question 21

Is the Department satisfied with the existing mechanisms for setting priorities and educational planning or does it envisage any reforms in order to cope with the demands of educational change in a period of increasing economic constraint?

Question 22

It appears to be assumed that qualitative improvements in the provision of education cannot in the short run be funded from savings that derive from the demographic downturn. What are the Department's short- and long-term priorities for qualitative improvements and how does it propose to find the necessary resources for implementing them?

Question 23

Widespread consultation on a representative basis is a distinguishing feature of New Zealand practice. Yet during periods of constraint such consultation may seriously constrain effective and speedy action. Does the Department contemplate any possible modifications of existing consultative procedures in the face of this problem?

Question 24

The guidelines for educational practice in New Zealand are highly centralised, but there is a good deal of room for local management initiatives. Are there any tendencies which might in the future lead to a greater measure of administrative decentralisation?

Question 25

The greater emphasis upon training, and the need to cope with new problems such as a rising level of unemployment, which involve the interests and concerns of several government departments, put a premium upon inter-departmental collaboration and planning. In what ways are the mechanisms for this being adapted within the Department, between departments and at Cabinet level?

Question 26

What use is made of policy-oriented research within the Department to assist in assigning priorities to policies and programmes? To what extent does existing research capacity, in government agencies, universities and within departments, satisfy the need for up-to-date and comprehensive information on changing educational needs? How is responsibility distributed for the evaluation of progammes, and for providing data on such issues as young people's attitudes towards training and further study, and other issues of a social and behavioural nature?

Professor Karmel saw this topic as having three main aspects. The first related to the professional dimension—planning and policy-making with respect to curricula, assessment, examinations, changes in educational structures and innovations. The second had to do with the use of resources, the need for rationalisation, for making best use of the limited amount of money available, for increasing productivity and enhancing co-ordination. Finally, the third aspect of policy-making related to the interaction of educational policy with employment, welfare and other financial imperatives.

In raising issues under this heading the examiners had in mind the procedures and mechanisms of policy-making of all three kinds. Some of the questions raised by the examiners had been covered by earlier exchanges at the meeting. Professor Karmel thus wished to direct attention mainly to questions 21, 23, 24 and 26. The first of these had to do with mechanisms for setting educational priorities, particularly in a period of economic constraint. Question 23 concerned the reconciliation of democratic consultative processes with the need for rapid decision-making in a time of economic constraint. The examiners were also interested in the relation between central and local initiatives in policy-making. Finally, in question 26, the examiners raised points about the role that policy-oriented research played in the formation and implementation of educational policy.

The Minister in his response once more underlined the importance of the consultative process to political life in New Zealand. A small population, and relatively short geographical distances, coupled with good communications and transport, made widespread consultation possible with a minimum of fuss and of bother. Such consultations did not only take place in Wellington. Government worked on the principle that it must be totally accessible to those to whom it was accountable. The examiners had asked if this slowed down or inhibited decisive action and a quick and flexible response to changing circumstances. The government did not believe that any such inhibitions existed. Their experience had been that in education as much as in other fields it was essential to ensure that as many constituent client groups as possible were satisfied with the formulation, content and implementation of policy. He did not believe that there had been any significant instances of serious and disabling delay.

Professor Karmel explained that a particular aspect of the examiners' concern was with the impact of single-interest politics on the process of consultation and decision-making. Under present conditions it seemed to be more difficult to get acceptance of the necessity of change when certain groups within the community seemed to be unprepared to accept the "umpire's decision" when majority support had been obtained. *The Minister* agreed that these difficulties were indeed real, and increasing. Compared with a decade ago there was a greater polarisation of thinking and opinion on certain issues. On some issues it was impossible to hope for a complete consensus. Having weighed up all the evidence and listened as far as possible to all the various points of view, governments had to act. There was a very high level of interest in education in New Zealand, not only on the part of those directly involved as students and parents and teachers, but also from the community in general. As he had emphasized earlier in the discussion, those who had come to New Zealand had done so in the hope of better quality of life, and saw education as an essential element in achieving their aspirations.

The Minister went on to outline the relationships that his Department possessed with other areas of government, such as Maori Affairs, Labour, Social Welfare, Health, and the State Services Commission. Given modest size and a degree of centralisation of decision-making, it was relatively easy to bring all the people concerned together.

On the subject of research, the Minister felt that its impact on policy-making and decision-taking had not been great. He was disappointed with much of the research that was conducted by agencies outside the Department. It was neither substantial in volume, nor addressed to the real problems that government faced. He found, as Minister, that it was excessively academic, narrow, inconclusive and tentative. Even when vital questions were addressed, it ended too often by leaving them unanswered. As Minister, he found that the best research and independent advice to hand was that form within his own Department. Once again, because of the manageable size of the New Zealand society, he and his advisers could readily get into the field and talk to teachers and others in the education service on a regular basis and ascertain their needs and anxieties. The approach was essentially pragmatic, practical, and based on individual and collective experience rather than research.

The Delegate from the United Kingdom found the Minister's statement on research admirably frank, and concurred with much of its substance. These weaknesses might derive from the fact that lead times in research and lead times in education tended to be very long, whilst decisions had often to be taken at short notice and in the light of such evidence as was immediately available. There was a need, also, for longer-term perspectives on the part of government, a willingness to look ahead to the policy decisions that might face them in, say, four years' time. The research community should be asked to recognise and respond to this need. Not all policy issues lent themselves to being informed and guided by research, but where it could help, there was a need to enlist the support and co-operation of the research community.

The Rapporteur took issue with the Minister on his assessment of the role and contribution of educational research. He contended that to expect from research the kind of information directly applicable to decision-making, such as the Minister had indicated, was to entertain false and unrealistic expectations of what research offered. The substantial body of research evidence emanating from the work of independent agencies, including the New Zealand Council for Educational Research and the universities, seemed to the examiners to be important in terms of the extent to which it had sensitised decision-makers, administrators, politicians and the community to the existence of certain issues that might otherwise either not have been discussed at all, or would have been considered on the basis of inadequate information. Research helped to shift the agenda of educational concern by producing findings which were counter-intuitive in the sense that they were not necessarily what one would have expected administrators and politicians to produce, and which were sometimes disturbing and irritating. Such counter-intuitive arguments underlined the complexity that lay behind many educational issues, in respect of some of which political imperatives required early decisions to be made. It was thus almost inevitable that there would be a sense on the part of hard-pressed politicians and busy administrators that researchers were not coming up with what they needed. This was to misinterpret the function of educational research. The Examiners' Report had been more positive about the role of research than the Minister and his own advisers. This appeared to be a point of difference between the examiners and the New Zealand authorities that required further consideration.

The Minister reiterated his view that many researchers are behind or out of step with social and economic realities of the kind that had brought members of the Education Committee, the examiners and representatives of New Zealand around the table at the Review Meeting. The policy-oriented research which had been and was being conducted by, for example, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research was not really addressing itself to real policy issues. For example, there was no research in New Zealand which helped decision-makers to deal with the question of falling rolls, to the question of what one did with surplus accommodation which such demographic change produced. Plenty of other examples of this kind could be produced in evidence. It was the absence of any direct approach to such critical policy issues that had made the Minister impatient with the substance and nature of educational research that had been produced in recent years. Researchers should have perceived the importance of these problems long before 1982. The reverse was true. It was 1982 and they were still not into them.

The Rapporteur replied that if this was true, it seemed to imply the necessity in New Zealand, as indeed in other countries, of better mechanisms of contact between the academic communities, the research communities, the administrators and the policy-makers of a kind that would ensure that the different imperatives of these groups—for they were different—could as far as possible be reconciled. Each of these different communities must mutually inform and benefit from discussion with each other. The examiners had referred in their report to criticisms that were raised in the 1978 Ministerial Conference about the lack of such mechanisms. That was a full four years ago, and the situation seemed no better today.

The Director-General thought that most of the difficulty arose from the differences in time-scale that confronted politicians and the research community. Policy issues hit ministers with great rapidity, they were seldom standing still for very long. They wanted answers quickly. Within the research community, prestige and status did not come from rapidity of decision-making. Confronted by a particular question, research workers tended to redefine it in their own terms. These might not always be those that were of greatest interest to administrators and policy-makers. There had been a real effort in New Zealand in recent years to develop a greater capacity for policy-oriented research. Both Treasury and Department had shared a commitment in this respect, because of the importance of evaluating policy outcomes. Attempts had been made to build up a *cadre* of researchers with experience in this field. The results of the effort had to some extent been disappointing. Part of the reason might be that government was giving a rather special interpretation to policy-oriented research. It was felt that if it was to be assisted with research it was better to start from the stand point of practice rather than from the stand point of policy itself. For example, probably the most valuable piece of research that had been done in New Zealand in the past twenty years in terms of its application to practice was the work of Professor Marie Clay of the University of Auckland, which had resulted in the introduction of a new system of reading for children aged 5 or 6. Professor Clay was a psychologist, and very interested in seeing exactly what happened when children confronted print, whether or not their response was in conformity with the advice that was given to teachers, with textbooks, reading books and with the existing approach to reading. She asked practical questions, such as why some children had not by a given age made the kind of progress that was expected of them. Some ten years had been spent working directly with teachers and with officers of the Department in order to build a reading technology that would assist children who in their initial encounter with reading had been less than successful. The

Reading Recovery Programme, as it is called, provided a first safety net at age 6 for children who were not reading well. With properly trained teachers, a careful limitation of group size, and opportunity for withdrawal and individual teaching, much could be done at the age of 6 to avoid that loss of reading skill that, if unattended to, might be so significant for educational progress at later ages. A long period of research, with allied development work, had produced a technology, a delivery system and a training system, all of which were now being generalised in the New Zealand system. This could be cited as an example where research that started with a number of practical questions had produced results of great practical value. Issues of this kind could be converted into meaningful research questions. This was not always possible with the kinds of issues to which the Minister had been referring.

Mr. Gass, Director of the Social Affairs, Manpower and Education Directorate of the OECD, felt that part of the problem arose from failures of expectation and perception on the part of both politicians and researchers. It was a mistake to expect research workers to come up with answers to political questions. That way one only got bad research, frustration, disappointment and waste of resources. What researchers could provide was necessarily limited. Work, for example, on the impact of demographic downturn was the kind of research that had to be done within a decision-making framework, and was a job for policy-making bodies. It was not a good idea to look to the outside research community to provide answers to that problem. In a fast-moving world the decision-maker did not need answers from researchers. He needed information. It was in the provision of this information that research played a valuable role. In the long term, research could lead to new formulations of questions, to the development of theory of a kind that would help policy-makers to restate questions they were attempting to answer. He felt that it was mistaken to ask research institutes that were sited outside the decision-making process to produce answers to what were essentially political problems. Instead, they should be asked to do other things—to state what was going on, and to indicate how the questions that were being asked should be rephrased in relation to likely future conditions.

Discussion then turned to the relation of local and central initiatives and action in policy-making. In response to a question from the *Canadian Delegate, the Minister* indicated that the existing balance in New Zealand was one that was likely to continue. The government had introduced into Parliament an amendment bill which would have given a greater degree of autonomy at local level. As a result of discussion in Select Committee the government had had no option but to withdraw the bill. Local groups had said that they were relatively content with the way that things were. They valued direct access to Minister and officials. They did not welcome the setting up of intermediary agencies with whom they would have to negotiate.

The Delegate from Holland drew attention to the fact that in many systems, up to 85 per cent of the budget was spent on salaries and wages. In a time of economic constraint, was there not a straight choice between securing reductions in such wages, or facing greater unemployment in the teaching world?

The Minister replied that within his country, the work of the teacher with the pupil is seen as the very centre of educational activity. There was no disposition to further reduce teacher/pupil ratios accross the board. The number of new teachers was controlled very carefully through the quota system in teachers colleges, to which reference has already been made in the discussion. It was hoped to keep supply and demand in balance. Any additional resources that might become available as a consequence of demographic downturn or improved economic circumstances would need to be closely targeted to areas of special priority. This was already being done by attempting to effect selective, qualitative improvements in, e.g., remote rural areas, the education of the intellectually handicapped, and so on. By 1990 primary and intermediate rolls would have dropped by 20 per cent compared with the high point of 1975. In this context, there was need for adequate long-term planning, the authority for which government had now provided.

The Rapporteur felt that the meeting had returned, at the end of its day's discussion, to issues that were germane to the broad policy question that had been addressed in the opening statements. Up until the early 1970s, the level of educational provision was seen as having a close relationship with prospects of economic development and growth in OECD countries. During the 1970s, this tight gearing had come under criticism, and was to some extent discredited. The outcome might be equally simplistic, suggesting that there was *no* relationship between levels of educational provision and the performance of the economy, and thus indicating that, in a time of demographic downturn, substantial savings could be made in education without any deleterious effects elsewhere. He wondered if there was a move in New Zealand towards thinking through the relationship of education and the economy in a more sophisticated manner than has been the case in many countries up to the present. To allow spending to track down a demand curve defined entirely by demography could be detrimental to maintaining the fabric, substance and quality of educational provision. There was considerable competition in Cabinets and Cabinet committees for resources. How could education protect itself against "raids" by other spending departments?

The Minister, in dealing with these questions, reiterated the point he had made earlier about the considerable growth that had taken place in New Zealand education spending between 1975 and 1982. This was a measure of the commitment of the New Zealand people to educational advance, which found expression in government policy. There was no doubt that significant savings would accrue from demographic downturn. Government was actively involved in discussion about what would happen to resources thus made available. It was likely that certain selective qualitative improvements would be identified as areas for maintained expenditure. Because of broader economic and fiscal considerations, there were obviously pressures to return some of the savings to the somewhat hard-pressed New Zealand taxpayer or to redeploy them elsewhere in the economy to give a further impetus to the economic diversification to which earlier reference had been made.

The Minister also wished to emphasize, in replying to an intervention by *Mrs. Eide*, that although administration and policy-making in New Zealand were centralised, it would be wrong to infer from that that what happened at the bottom of South Island was exactly the same as what was being done in North of the North Island. Regulations, syllabuses, prescriptions and so on, while centrally laid down, were sufficiently broad and flexible not to inhibit local initiative. An example was the extent to which subjects could be selected for School Certificate and Sixth-Form Certificate to suit the individual requirements of local communities. The programmes of technical institutes and community colleges were devised very much in relation to the needs of their own regions. For example, in the Bay of Plenty Community College, the main focus of growth was on training in horticulture, whereas in Taranaki the emphases were on fitting and welding courses relating to on-going and planned energy projects. There was plenty of room for a flexible response on the part of individual institutions to the needs of their region as they saw them. It was true, as Mrs. Eide had suggested, that some of the tertiary institutions tended to fret under centralised administration. They wished to be able to make their own decisions about increasing course activity in a particular subject. However, to allow each college to go it alone would risk a wasteful duplication of activity which government was at pains to avoid.

VII

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Professor Karmel summarised the examiners' responses to the Minister's statement in answer to their questions. Professor Karmel welcomed the way in which discussion had enabled a number of points of difference between the examiners and the New Zealand authorities to be highlighted and to be dealt with. He wished to focus his final remarks on five points: employment and education; qualitative improvement; the teachers colleges; vocational education; and issues of educational planning upon which discussion had focused in the final section.

It seemed to the examiners that despite the commitment of the New Zealand government to ending unemployment, and their confidence that this was possible, youth unemployment would in New Zealand, as in other OECD countries, continue to be a problem. He shared the view of many economists that current levels of youth unemployment had a structural component, and that certain young people would find it increasingly difficult to obtain jobs, at least while they were still in their teens. For the individual, such unemployment might be temporary. For the system, the existence of some such unemployment could well be long term. For these reasons, however useful transition programmes may be to improve the employability of young people and to give them a better chance to get a job they will be fishing in a limited pool of opportunity. Transition programmes themselves would not necessarily create jobs and remove the causes of unemployment. If such diagnosis was correct, alternative kinds of activity for young people would be necessary. It would in particular be necessary to diversify what is offered at the secondary school. This was certainly happening to some extent in New Zealand, and the examiners hoped it would continue. Similarly, diversification at post-secondary levels would be necessary. The further development of the technical institutes and community colleges would help in this direction. At both upper secondary and post-secondary levels, diversification should seek to raise participation rates and thus to remove from the labour market a proportion of young people, thus at one and the same time contributing to a reduction in levels of unemployment, and to raising the levels of knowledge and skill available to the community. As part of this strategy, the traditional apprenticeship scheme which New Zealand had inherited from Britain would need review. It was limited to a narrow range of traditional trades, some of which might well become obsolete in their present form in the next twenty years. It was biased against the employment of women. The creation of opportunities for alternative activities was also necessary. One interesting example that the examiners had come into contact with in New Zealand was that of letting out work contracts to groups of young people who might in other circumstances be called "gangs". The notion of contracting such groups to do worthwhile jobs was, although necessarily somewhat limited in scope, an attractive one. The secondary school systems in many OECD countries tended to be rather conservative in their values and aspirations, and frequently biased in an academic direction. It was necessary to correct this imbalance, without at the same time sacrificing the academic standards that secondary schools had always seen as essential to the success of their work.

Professor Karmel's second set of points related to the possibility of qualitative improvement. In this, the government's decision about the use of resources freed by falling rolls would be critical. It was to be hoped that a substantial proportion of what would be saved could be used for the benefit of education. Such resources should be fully directed to priority areas, and their usefulness should not be lost by being spread thinly over the whole system through, for example, an across-the-board reduction of class sizes.

Programmes like the REAP efforts in rural areas seemed to have considerable possibilities elsewhere. Relatively small amounts of additional resources devoted to the REAPs, to providing compensatory provision for low attainers from disadvantaged groups, and to better in-service training for teachers would all be areas where relatively small amounts would, the examiners believed, have a high pay-off. The unit of resource in New Zealand education was already comparatively low. New Zealand already had an efficient and economic system. The unit of resource ought not to be allowed to fall further. The examiners felt this particularly keenly in the case of universities, where the quality of their operation would be compromised if resources were allowed to decline while the principle of open entry was maintained. The examiners were still anxious about the viability of some of the smaller teachers colleges, and were glad to hear that this matter would be kept under systematic review. The temptation on the part of the colleges to diversify into areas other than teacher education was obviously considerable and some such diversification on a small scale had already taken place. Insofar as this took the colleges beyond their areas of proven competence, it should be resisted. If anything, future moves should be in the direction of closer association between colleges and the universities.

Professor Karmel then turned to the question of vocational education. The examiners had been keen to stress the dangers of making education too narrowly vocational, too job-specific. The emphasis on education as a preparation for working life needed to be replaced by one which links education and *adult* life, within which it is recognised that working life is an important element. Given existing and likely future rates of technological change, and the needs these produced for occupational mobility, education of whatever kind must be broad based rather than highly specific. There was scope for such broad based education within both academic and vocational streams. The argument for broad based education was not necessarily an argument for academic education, but it was an argument for education of a kind which enabled men and women to move more easily among a variety of occupations and a variety of activities during the whole of their adult lives. The design of vocational education, therefore, should be as broad based as possible, however practical and non-academic it might be in content. Training that was very job specific should as far as possible be left to employers, who reap the benefits and should pay the costs.

Finally, there was the question of educational planning. This had two aspects. First, there was the need for close and continuous co-ordination between the relevant government Departments, especially where decisions in one might have significant knock on effects, not all of them obvious in character or direction, for other Departments and activities. Second, since almost all educational missions made some call on resources, there was a need for a careful assessment of costs and benefits, and the trade-offs involved in choosing one line of policy rather than another must be taken carefully into account. The examiners had noted what the Minister and his colleagues said about the priorities attached in New Zealand to the needs of both young *and* old. However, demographic trends might tend to tip the balance of priorities away from the young towards the old, and this was another reason why action should be taken to protect the educational structures, that had been built up at such high cost over the past twenty or thirty years, from resource erosion that could threaten the quality and coverage of what was offered.

The Minister of Education wished to stress that educational policy in New Zealand was very much determined by the size of the community, by the importance of the prevailing philosophy of egalitarianism and by an approach that stressed incremental improvement rather than structural convulsion. The New Zealand government was anxious to preserve the integrity of the multi-cultural society, and to protect those young people who were, through social and economic conditions, at risk of failure. The Minister accepted Professor Karmel's point about the possibly long-term nature of the need to do more in respect of such young people. A major review was being undertaken of the secondary school core curriculum, to which responses would be made in the very near future. The thrust would be to diversify that curriculum better to take on board contemporary realities, and to cater better for those whose bent is more practical than academic. In the immediate future there would be continued expansion of technical institutes, community colleges, and the substantial review of the apprenticeship system that was already under way would continue to receive careful attention. In making better provision for young people, the attitudes of trade unions were very important. The rationalisation of income support systems for young people was on the agenda of the task force to which reference had earlier been made. The unit of resource in New Zealand education was realistic, and the substantial increase in expenditure during the preceding seven years should not be forgotten. The points that the examiners and others had made about the viability of teachers colleges would be watched very carefully. There was no intention on the part of the New Zealand authorities to allow excessive job specificity to dictate the development of training provision, and Government was anxious to maintain the broad base of New Zealand's educational provision. The importance of an all-round approach in New Zealand meant a young person who was sound in scholarship, sensitive to the needs of other people and their cultures, and who took a fairly strenuous approach to extra-curricular activities, whatever they might be, on sports field or elsewhere. As far as the planning mechanisms and planning processes are concerned, co-ordination and co-operation between Departments did exist, and was a matter for continuing attention. Given a shortage of resources there was certainly a risk of departmental rivalry, which underlined the necessity for keeping consultation and co-ordination in good repair.

Finally, *the Minister* wished to re-emphasize again that as far as the future deployment and resources was concerned, his government would totally agree with the examiners' statements (page 36) that it was in making selective, qualitative improvements that progress might be made, and there was therefore need carefully to select appropriate targets. Fortunately, teacher unions accepted the importance of such priorities, and had largely abandoned the aspirations of future across-the-board reductions in ratios. This was a positive move in relation to future co-operation between members of the New Zealand education "family".

Part Three

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN NEW ZEALAND

Summary of the Background Report
prepared by the New Zealand Department of Education

SUMMARY OF THE BACKGROUND REPORT

Objectives

Education has long been seen by New Zealanders as a means of personal betterment. And in a colonial society where social distinctions, though clearly evident, did not, for various reasons, harden into a class-based system of education, the publicly supported education system has been seen increasingly in terms of its contribution to equality of educational opportunity. The only capital that most young New Zealanders have access to is the educational capital they can acquire through the education system. A statement made in 1939 by Hon. Peter Fraser, Minister of Education (and later Prime Minister) in the first Labour Government, has come to be seen by New Zealanders as the classic formulation of what they expect the education system to achieve for themselves and their children: "The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers".

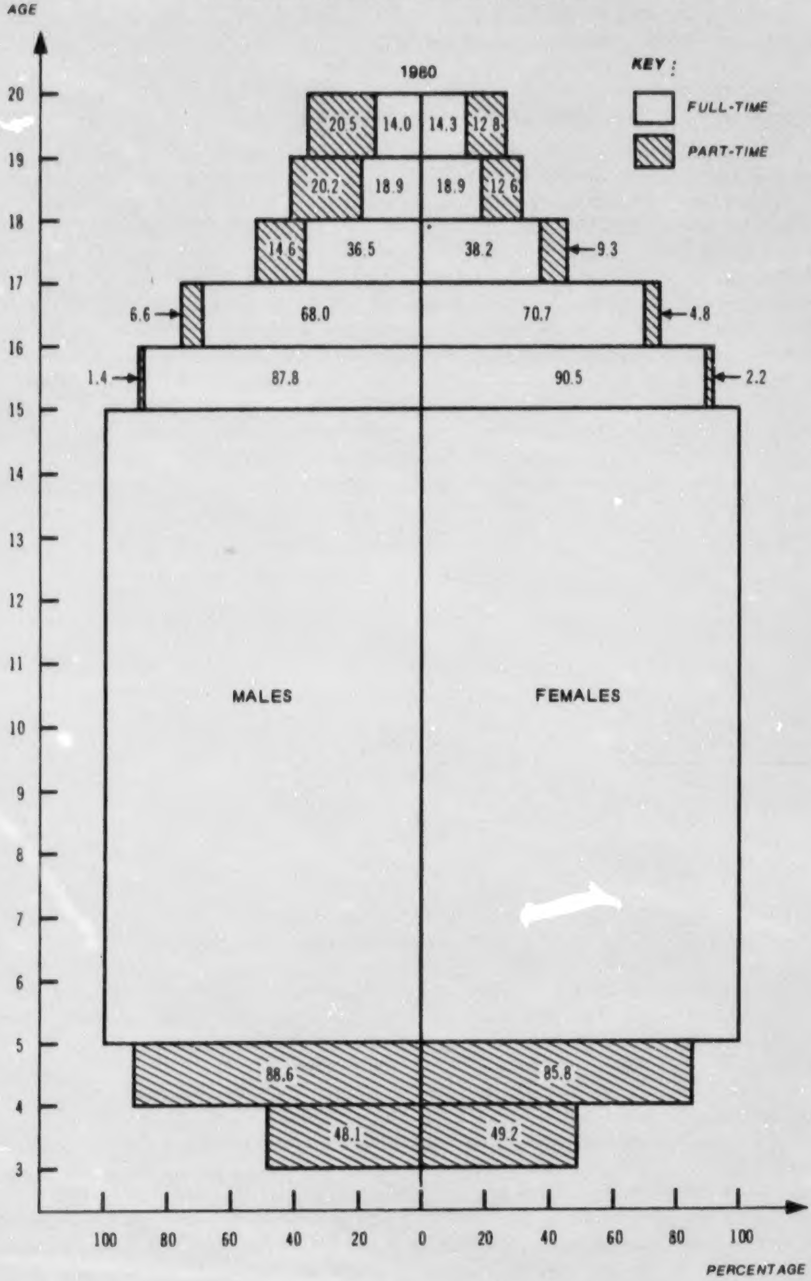
The range of educational services provided or assisted by public money has been greatly extended during the last 40 years and particularly during the last 20. There is now a comprehensive range of educational services available for pre-school children and for children of all ages with disabilities and special needs. There is greater recognition of the contribution that Maoris, Pacific Islanders and other cultural minorities can make to the life and work of educational institutions at all levels. Tertiary education in some form has become a significant factor in the lives of increasing numbers of New Zealanders. As the universities have grown they have greatly extended the range of their teaching and research. Technical institutes or community colleges have been established in the 15 main centres of population to meet the requirements of an increasing number of occupations for higher levels of education and training. New Zealand has a long tradition of adult education: the concept of continuing or lifelong education has thus found a ready response and has been the subject of much public discussion and policy development during the last decade. The generally high level of education in the population is widely acknowledged to be vital to the successful restructuring of the economy.

The Education System

One New Zealander in every three is enrolled in the education system either as a full-time or a part-time student. Others, in addition, are enrolled in courses conducted by other government agencies or by enterprises and professional or voluntary associations. Enrolments in 1981 were: 56 000 in kindergartens or play centres; 494 000 in primary or intermediate schools; 225 000 in secondary schools; 32 000 full-time, 13 000 part-time and 8 000 extra-mural students in universities; 5 900 in teachers colleges; and 6 900 full-time, 36 000 part-time and 30 000 extra-mural students in technical institutes or community colleges. Primary

Figure 1

PARTICIPATION OF NEW ZEALANDERS AGED 3-20 IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN 1980 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION AGE-GROUP BY MALES AND FEMALES



school enrolments have been falling since 1975 and are forecast to fall still further during the eighties. Secondary enrolments are still increasing slightly (the extent to which students stay longer at school is closely related to job opportunities) but are expected to decline from the mid-eighties. Teachers college intakes were greatly reduced in 1982 and are expected to continue at this lower level for some years. University enrolments are expected to continue the strong growth of the last twenty years. On current projections, technical institutes and community colleges could have, in total, as many students (expressed as equivalent full-time students) by the year 2000 as the universities. (See Figure 1.)

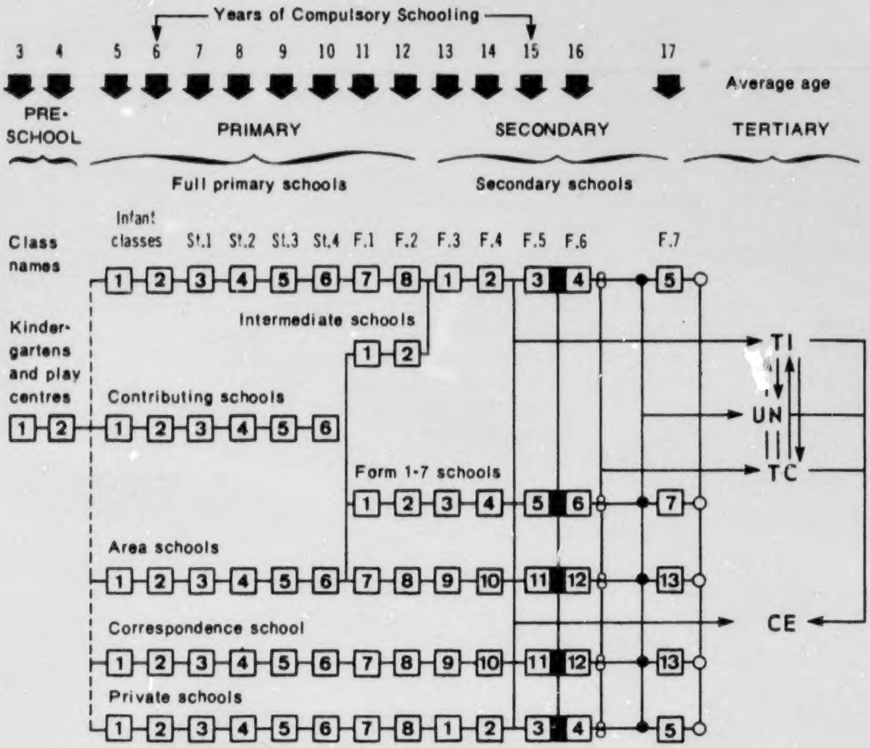
Children begin primary school at age 5 and are required by law to be enrolled in a school until they turn 15. (See Figure 2.) The complete cycle of schooling takes 13 years, beginning at age 5. Eight years of primary schooling is followed by up to five years secondary. Since the 1920s there has been much public discussion of whether the seventh and eighth years of schooling should remain the sphere of primary teachers or be transferred to the secondary teaching service. Under the policies that have been followed since 1922, the seventh and eighth years have been progressively removed from primary schools. In urban centres, several primary schools contribute students to an intermediate school; in country districts, these two classes are added to secondary schools or to area schools. In 1981, 66 per cent of the students enrolled in their seventh or eighth year in a state school were in intermediate schools, 7 per cent in rural secondary or area schools, and the rest in eight-year primary schools. Many private secondary schools enrol students in their seventh year at school.

Students continuing their education at the tertiary level do so in one or other of three types of institution. Those proceeding to university may do so either on a full- or a part-time basis, although many of the professional schools require full-time enrolment. Those accepted for courses of teacher training will enrol at a teachers college and will pursue a course which in most cases will combine, either concurrently or consecutively, study in a teachers college with study in a university. Those entering apprenticeships, technical cadetships, or courses of initial training for nursing and other health sciences will enrol as part- or full-time students in technical institutes or community colleges. The trade and technician certificating authorities grant their awards only to candidates who, as well as meeting examination requirements, have been employed for a required period in the occupation for which they will be certificated. Most of the students who attend technical institutes or community colleges are thus employees who are released, usually on pay, to undertake over a period of years a series of full-time courses of study which will vary in length from 3 to 21 weeks.

There are limits to the number of students admitted each year to courses of tertiary education associated with apprenticeships, technician cadetships, health services, teaching, and the professional schools of the universities. Admission to general degree courses in arts and sciences in New Zealand universities remains, however, open and flexible. Full-time university study has become the norm but degree structures and requirements accommodate part-time students. Students may begin a degree course at one university and receive credit for the work they have done if they transfer to another university before completing it. Massey University provides a national service for extra-mural students. All the universities allow adult students who have not passed the University Entrance examination to be granted provisional admission and, if successful in their university studies, to proceed to a degree. About 9 per cent of each year's university admissions are in this category. The universities also give credit towards their degrees for courses successfully completed in teachers colleges and for some technical institute courses. The distinctions within tertiary education are thus not sharp or exclusive.

Figure 2

THE NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION SYSTEM



KEY :

TI :	Technical Institutes		TC :	Teachers Colleges
UN :	University Institutions		CE :	Continuing Education
█	School Certificate		●	University Entrance
8	Sixth Form Certificate		○	Higher School Certificate and or University Bursary or Scholarship

Notes :

Form 1-7 School : A school in a rural centre providing courses from Form 1 to Form 7.

Area School : A school in a small rural centre providing courses from infant classes to Form 7 for children from its immediate neighbourhood and from F1 to F7 for pupils from a wider area.

Continuing Education : A range of community educational services for adults available through tertiary institutions : Educational centres ; Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAPs) ; multicultural and Pacific Island educational centres and other agencies.

There is also much co-operation between formal and non-formal educational agencies at all levels. New Zealand has a strong tradition of voluntary association for educational purposes. Within every community there are groups of people pursuing some cause which will have educational implications for themselves or for others. Institutions of formal education at all levels and in all parts of the country work in association with an increasing number of such groups: the universities through their extension programmes, secondary schools through their evening classes and technical institutes and community colleges through their guidance and advisory services as well as through courses they can run in response to community need. Until 1970, the six main centres of population were much better provided for than the smaller cities and rural New Zealand. Since then, the resources of the formal system have been very considerably enlarged through the establishment of technical institutes, community colleges and senior technical divisions in 10 provincial cities and Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAPs) in 13 rural smaller centres throughout the country.

There is comprehensive provision for distance education. The New Zealand Correspondence School (established in 1925) provides primary, secondary and continuing education and also services for parents of pre-school children and home-bound children with special educational needs. Adult students outnumber enrolments of children of school age. The Technical Correspondence Institute (established in 1943) provides a wide range of courses of trade, technician and professional training by correspondence.

Administration

The education system combines strong elements of national, local, lay and professional influence. It is a national system: the legal authority for all educational institutions derives from the Education Act, the Universities Act and other Acts of the New Zealand Parliament. It is a centrally funded system: all public money appropriated for education is authorised by Parliament. The Minister of Education, on the recommendation of the University Grants Committee for the universities, and on the recommendation of various advisory bodies for the rest of the system, has the final power of decision on curricula and other academic developments, levels of funding, and the introduction of new policy initiatives. The Department of Education has wide responsibilities under the Education Act for the supervision and efficient conduct of public education.

Except for the Correspondence School and a few residential schools for children with special needs, however, all educational institutions are controlled and managed by statutory lay controlling authorities. There is an influential network of national organisations of controlling authorities and voluntary associations who ensure that the concerns of their sector are understood by the Minister of Education, the government, and members of Parliament, as well as by the public through the media.

State school teachers are appointed by local or district controlling authorities but their salaries and conditions of service are negotiated nationally and apply uniformly throughout the country. Teachers in universities, technical institutes and community colleges, teachers colleges, secondary schools, primary schools and kindergartens have separate national organisations which negotiate on their behalf and seek to influence national educational policies. The Education Act makes provision for private schools which must be registered and comply with state standards. In 1981, 8 per cent of primary pupils and 12 per cent of secondary school students were enrolled in private schools. Whether and to what extent private schools should receive financial assistance from the State has been a major cause for public debate since 1878, when the national education system was established. The historic relationship between state and private schools is changing as a result of the Conditional Integration of Private Schools Act 1975. That Act, the result of close negotiation between state and private school interests, enables proprietors who are prepared to meet its conditions to negotiate an agreement with the Minister of Education, become an integrated state school, and have all recurrent expenditure funded by the State. Ninety per cent of the private schools registered in 1975 were controlled by Roman Catholic educational authorities. Virtually all of these schools will have become integrated state schools by 1983. They will increase the state system by about 10 per cent. A number of private schools administered by other religious denominations have integrated or will do so. By 1983, only a few registered private schools will remain.

For a national, centrally funded system, the arrangements for administration and supervision are complex. This reflects, in part, the long-standing tensions between central and local authority and between sectional interests within the system. It is also a consequence of awkward geography and the uneven distribution of population. University institutions are funded by quinquennial block grants which are negotiated for them by the University Grants Committee. Technical institutes, community colleges, and teachers colleges are administered by their own councils but are funded by annual grants administered by the Department of Education. Secondary schools are administered by their own boards of governors which are funded by annual grants administered by the Department of Education. Primary schools are administered by district education boards which are elected by school committees for each school. Each district education board is funded by grants made available to it annually by the Department. Kindergartens and play centres are administered by local associations: their grants are negotiated with the Department by their national organisations.

The Department of Education provides the administrative infrastructure for the system through a head office, three regional offices, ten teams of primary inspectors (located in the offices of the ten district education boards) and four teams of secondary inspectors.

Education Finance

Public expenditure on education grew from 2.2 per cent of GNP in 1940 to 5.48 per cent in 1980/81. As a percentage of net government expenditure, it grew from 5.8 per cent in 1940 to 14.15 per cent in 1980/81. Of the current annual budget of $1 490 065 000 (1981/82), 28.4 per cent is to be spent on tertiary, 28.5 per cent on secondary, 39.1 per cent on primary, and 1.5 per cent on pre-school education, 0.7 per cent on the National Library and 1.8 per cent on administration and general expenses. This includes capital expenditure. Unit costs per student, including salaries and capital costs, for the various sectors are: play centres $101 (there are no salaried staff); kindergartens $483; primary schools $1 091; secondary schools $1 823; technical institutes and community colleges $4 795; teachers colleges $9 535; and universities $5 945. The comparatively high figure for teachers colleges reflects high student allowances for teachers college students.

Tertiary students enrolled for full-time courses receive a tertiary study grant of $27 (1982) per week and may apply for supplementary, means-tested allowances of up to $20 per week. Several banks operate student loan schemes. Teachers college students may opt for these forms of financial assistance or for higher allowances. If they opt for the latter, they enter into a bond to teach for a period of time equal to the length of their training course.

Supply of Teachers

In 1980 there were 43 310 teachers and 7 700 students training to be teachers. Of the teachers 3 300 were employed in universities, 2 420 in technical institutes and community colleges, 560 in teachers colleges, 14 550 in secondary schools, 21 330 in primary schools and 1 150 in kindergartens.

The system is now largely free from teacher shortage. Some remote primary schools still have difficulty getting teachers (usually women teachers) for their junior classes. Some secondary schools still have difficulty recruiting teachers of English, mathematics and science. There is, at all levels, a lessening demand for teachers and the quality of new recruits is improving.

Curriculum Development and Teaching Methods

School curricula are determined nationally and interpreted locally in each school. All syllabuses of instruction are approved by the Minister of Education and supervised by the Department of Education's inspectors of schools. Changes in official syllabuses are, however, the last stage of processes of consultation, development, in-service training and evaluation which usually take several years and which are designed to involve teachers in all parts of the country and, increasingly, interested members of the public.

The public examinations at the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth years of schooling also exert a strong national influence on secondary school curricula. The two examining bodies—the Universities Entrance Board and the School Certificate Examination Board—are both national bodies whose examination prescriptions are followed in all secondary schools. Teachers are, however, well represented on these boards. Consultation between the examining bodies and their constituent schools is also well developed. Examination requirements are kept in line with the objectives of curriculum development.

National syllabuses and examination prescriptions are deliberately expressed in general terms. The responsibility for the interpretation of syllabuses, for their adaptation to local circumstances, and for the general management of schools rests with the principal and teachers in each school. Methods of teaching are the professional responsibility of individual teachers, under the guidance of heads of departments or principals.

Much of the teaching in technical institutes and community colleges is directed towards the external examination requirements of trade, technician and other examining or certification authorities. There is, however, a strong tendency for the interpretation of these requirements to be delegated to the institution whose teachers determine their standards through a combination of internal assessment and external examinations. The teachers colleges and universities determine their own curricula and standards of acceptable performance in relation to courses that will have received national approval in general terms after much consultation by teachers of a particular subject.

Promotions, Examinations and Certificates

Children may enter school on their fifth birthday and all five-year-olds are enrolled within a few weeks of it. Promotion to the eleventh year of schooling is on the basis of age and maturity. Very few children progress through school at more than a year above or below the average age for their class. There are no admission tests for state secondary schools.

Public examinations are held and national leaving certificates are awarded at the end of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth years of schooling. A student's further promotion at secondary school or to tertiary education is strongly influenced by performance during each of these critical years of schooling. The School Certificate, an examination sat at the end of the eleventh year, is a test of general education. Seventy-eight per cent of the age group passed the examination in at least one subject in 1980 and 44 per cent passed in three subjects or more. During the last 30 years, the School Certificate has become a defining cultural norm. It is widely regarded by New Zealanders as an indication of academic promise and a pre-requisite for entry into various occupations. Promotions to the twelfth year (the sixth form) are made by the school principal on the basis of School Certificate results and his or her judgement of each student's ability to handle sixth-form studies. The University Entrance award is made at the end of that year. Most of the successful candidates are accredited by their schools. The remainder sit an external examination conducted by the Universities Entrance Board. Twenty-seven per cent of the age group qualified for University Entrance in 1980. About one-third of those who pass will later seek to enter university. Many will enter employment, often associated with full- or part-time study in a technical institute or community college, on the basis of their pass in University Entrance.

Students entering apprenticeships used to leave school by the end of the eleventh year but are increasingly staying for a twelfth (sixth form) year. Students entering technician cadetships, kindergarten or primary teaching, nursing and other health services may do so from the sixth form. But the demand for many of these services, particularly in the public sector, is drying up and, increasingly, numbers of students are remaining at school for the thirteenth (seventh form) year. Those going to university may do so at the end of the sixth form if they have passed the University Entrance examination but the great majority complete a seventh-form year before matriculating. The University Scholarships and Bursaries examinations are sat at the end of the seventh-form year and successful candidates receive a financial supplement to their tertiary assistance grants for later full-time study.

Educational Research

Educational research in New Zealand began to take on a life of its own during the 1920s through the work of a small number of university teachers of education and their students. The commitment of university teachers to research has continued and deepened, particularly during the last 20 years. The most important institutional influence on the development of educational research has, however, been the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, a statutory, largely government-funded but autonomous body, which was established in 1934. The Department of Education has a research branch and promotes research on policy issues. Funds for educational research are also available from the Social Sciences Research Fund Committee, the Mental Health Foundation, the Medical Research Council and other trusts.

Current Issues

A great deal of the current public discussion on educational objectives concerns the nature of appropriate educational responses or the role of schools and other educational institutions to far-reaching social, economic and moral changes within the larger New Zealand community. Some of the major issues with clear implications for organised educational effort are as follows:

i) *The Family as a Basic Social Institution*

In New Zealand, as in most western states, the institution of the 'family' is undergoing significant change and adaptation. The effects of such changes can be

13

seen in declining family size and birth rate; in the expression of cultural and sub-cultural differences on the meaning of the concept 'family': in emerging differences in male and female roles; in the growing number of 'two income' families; and in attitudes to the permanence of marriage[1].

ii) *Ethical and Cultural Diversity*

A diverse range of standards and beliefs in cultural and ethical matters is now acknowledged to be a feature of the New Zealand community. Widely differing stances, stemming from personal belief, cultural background and tradition, religious affiliation and political allegiance, are adopted on many social issues. This diversity is seen, for example, in the resurgence of a sense of Maori identity by Maori New Zealanders, and the growing awareness of the rights of ethnic minorities; the strength of protest movements; the concern to protect women's rights; and the vigorous debates over a wide range of moral issues[2].

iii) *Public/Private Responsibility*

The limits of government responsibility in providing services to the community is an underlying concern in many social issues. On the one hand, demands continue to be made for extensions of government responsibility, especially in the fields of health, education and welfare. On the other hand, there is a widely held view that New Zealand must become more self-reliant and more prepared to take risks, and that many matters which have come to be seen as the province of state-supported activity undertaken in the public interest should be left to the personal initiative of individuals. Changes of attitude and public policy on this fundamental point are seen to be an essential requirement for a country that must somehow restructure its economy and trade its way out of its current difficulties.

iv) *Economic Restructuring*

Since the first oil shock of 1973, New Zealand governments have been concerned to restructure the economy so that it will be more resilient and competitive in the face of international fluctuations. This restructuring process has been characterised by major new energy projects, industrial growth strategies and export incentives, all having widespread impact. There is much public debate as to which of the various paths to a restructured economy is the one likely to be the best for the country as a whole[3].

v) *Technological Change*

Along with other western states, New Zealand is being rapidly introduced to advanced technology which is, in turn, changing many aspects of society. Communication systems, information storage and retrieval, manufacturing processes, management styles, clerical duties and even household chores are already affected, and the overall impact of such technological developments will, within a very few years, be profound[4].

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1. For a fuller account of New Zealand 'family' styles and the impact of current trends on population, see:
— *Families First*, Social Development Council, Wellington, 1981;
— *Directions*, NZ Planning Council, No. 18, Wellington, 1981, pp. 9-10.

2. Further amplification of such social diversity can be found in:
He Matapuna, New Zealand Planning Council, No. 14, Wellington, 1979;
He Huarahi, Department of Education, Wellington, 1980;
Growing Sharing Learning (The Johnson Report), Department of Education, Wellington, 1977.

3. For example, see *Growth Opportunities in New Zealand*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1980.

4. A major feature of this change is illustrated in *Network New Zealand: Communications in the Future*, Commission for the Future, Wellington, 1981.

iv) *Employment*

Changes in family concepts, in economic and industrial structures and in technology are having a fundamental impact on employment patterns. These have led variously to displaced workers and redundancy; worker mobility and retraining; new and more complex career paths; a gradual breakdown of traditionally sex-related occupations; and also a higher rate of unemployment[5].

vii) *Public Expenditure*

There is continuing pressure on the government to increase public expenditure. There are also compelling reasons for restraining and, if possible, reducing the percentage of the GDP that is expended in the public sector. Education, as a major item of government expenditure, is, in the national debate, seen as part of both the problem and the solution.

viii) *Social Well-being*

Changes on the scale of those briefly touched on above, together with many other current social issues, have created a general concern about the future of New Zealand society. The establishment of tolerance and respect among differing viewpoints; the protection of minorities' rights; the distribution of fair shares for all; the maintenance of law and order; and the provision of support for disadvantaged and handicapped citizens are all part of this. The uncertainties and problems of the present have produced a degree of anxiety about the future.

The Implications for Education

These and other changes have far-reaching implications for public education, and the issues they raise are too numerous for all to be given attention in the OECD review of educational policy. To give a coherent focus to the review, however, and to reflect major issues of immediate and future significance, the following topics are especially drawn to the attention of the examiners:

- The effectiveness of the procedures and mechanisms for educational policy making.
- The effectiveness of the school curriculum in serving the learning needs of citizens, especially the non-academic.
- The adequacy of current provision for special populations.
- The extent to which the system of post-secondary and second-chance education is open and comprehensive.
- The adequacy of the provision of vocational courses and training experiences.
- The effectiveness of the guidance and information systems.

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[5] More detailed comment on employment patterns and policies and on unemployment trends can be found in: *Employment: Towards an Active Employment Policy*, New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington, 1980; and in *Jobs and People. The Government's Employment Strategy*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1981.

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